

ECLIPSE OF EMPIRE?

Perceptions of the Western Empire and its Rulers in
Late-Medieval France

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ECLIPSE OF EMPIRE?

Perceptions of the Western Empire and its Rulers in Late-Medieval France

by

Chris Jones



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For Mum & Dad

It has always been the prerogative of children and half-wits
to point out that the emperor has no clothes.
But the half-wit remains a half-wit,
and the emperor remains an emperor.

N. Gaiman, *The Sandman: The Kindly Ones* (London: Titan, 1996), pt. 4, p. 23.

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PREFACE

This book is an expanded version of a Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Durham in 2003. I embarked on the original thesis primarily as a result of two stimuli. The first of these was connected with the questions which lingered on — and indeed the new ones that arose — after I submitted a B.A. dissertation concerned with the context and purpose of Jean Quidort's famous treatise *De potestate regia et papali* to the same institution in 1998. The approach I adopted in that piece, and much of my later thought, was influenced by an article Janet Coleman wrote in 1991 exploring the Dominican context of Jean's work in which she questioned many of the traditional assumptions that have tended to be made about his motivations (the full reference to Professor Coleman's article appears in chapter six). The second factor was an interest in the chronicle as an historical source, an interest first awakened by Professor Michael Prestwich, in his special subject on Edward II, and by Professor David Rollason, in his seminar on Anglo-Norman Durham. The growing success of the tri-annual *Medieval Chronicle* conference, which held its fourth meeting in 2005, suggests I am not alone in taking a renewed interest in what has been for much of the previous century a source much neglected by all but a few brave historians.¹

¹ One particularly notable example from the English-speaking world of the resurgence of interest in the chronicle is Chris Given-Wilson's recent thought-provoking study of English historical writing between the late-thirteenth and the early-fifteenth century: C. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon, 2004).

There are many debts to be acknowledged in connection with a project such as this one. I wish first to recognize the financial assistance of the United Kingdom's Arts and Humanities Research Council, from whom I received a three-year Ph.D. studentship and an overseas field study award. I am also grateful to the Royal Historical Society, who indulged a penchant for European travel, and the SOCRATES-ERASMUS exchange programme of the European Union, who indulged a penchant for living in Paris. I am obliged to the History Department of the University of Durham, to Dr Björn Weiler, and to the Open University, all of whom arranged funding which enabled me to expound ideas originating in this book at, respectively, the 2003 Leeds International Medieval Congress, the 2003 University of Wales *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany* conference (in whose proceedings I was kindly invited to publish an article which further develops some of the ideas discussed in chapter two), and the 2005 Reading *Medieval Chronicle IV* conference. I am grateful to the participants at all of these conferences and to those at the 2001 Durham *Political Identities in Britain and Western Europe* conference for their many helpful comments and suggestions.

I am extremely grateful to the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, the Mission historique française en Allemagne, and the British Centre for Historical Research in Germany under whose joint auspices I had the honour to attend a tri-lingual summer school held at Göttingen in 2000, an event which has been formative in the preparation of this book. I am obliged to Dr Henri Bresc for facilitating a happy year of research at the Université Paris X-Nanterre. I am particularly indebted to Dr Blair Sullivan of the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies who kindly accepted my first foray into print, whose benevolence resulted in several further invitations to publish, and who has taken on the not inconsiderable burden of becoming my editor for this book. I am grateful for both her friendship and her patience.

The late Master of Grey College, Victor Watts, in addition to being an inspirational friend, was kind enough to read and comment upon early drafts of the original thesis. I am particularly indebted to Dr Bob Dyson who has been extremely generous in supplying me with copies of manuscripts, his own work, and his time. I also appreciate the discussions of aspects of this work I have had with Dr Jay Rubenstein, Romedio Schmitz-Esser, and, in particular, with Dr Klaus Oschema who painstakingly read through the manuscript and saved me from many a *bêtise* great and small. I am also grateful for the sound advice of my external examiners, Professor Jeffrey Denton and Dr Joseph Canning. The errors that remain, of course, are my own.

My general thanks must also be extended to the staff responsible for inter-library loans at the University of Durham Library, whose assistance was invaluable in the first two years I worked on this project, to the staff of the British Library, and to those of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. I am also grateful to the conservateur en chef at the Bibliothèque municipale of Sens, Michèle Degrave, for facilitating access to a copy of Geoffroi de Collon's chronicle. I am, in addition, grateful to Leonie Hicks for copy editing. I had the good fortune to be introduced to Dr Neal Stratford who was kind enough to allow me to fly my banners over his Parisian *pied-à-terre* one summer and to allow me use of his extraordinary personal library, both of which this book has benefited from enormously. I was very fortunate to receive a Synan fellowship at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, in 2005/6, and this book has benefited greatly from the stimulating intellectual environment I encountered there. I am also grateful for the warm welcome given to me by Professor Geoffrey Rice and my colleagues in the School of History at the University of Canterbury. They have kindly provided me with the time to finish this book, the resources to undertake a research trip to Paris shortly after my arrival in New Zealand, and — perhaps, most importantly — the opportunity to stroll along the beach in the company of the Pacific.

Of the many friends with whom I have discussed ideas and whose unerring support I have enjoyed I must make particular mention of, at Durham, Karen Blundell, Beth Hartland, Andy King, Keith Waters, Peter Lowe, Ben Dodds, and the SCR of Grey College. In Paris: Ann Morrissey, Annick Boulogne, Edna Yahil, Becky Pulju, Robert Braid, and Julien Demade. And somewhere between Paris, London and Göttingen: my sister Vanessa, Marigold Norbye, Sally Dixon-Smith, Catherine Rider, Carsten Oehme, Oleg Voskoboinikov, Paul Dryburgh, and Martin Cable.

Finally I extend my thanks to Professor Robin Frame, my tutor in my first year at Durham and the man responsible for sparking my interest in medieval history. To Len Scales, my indefatigable and much put-upon supervisor, who has shown unswerving support and encouragement and who played Herr Settembrini to this poor Hans Castorp for seven years. And to my mother and father who have always supported and encouraged this odd medieval enterprise. It is from my father that I have inherited a fascination with taking things to pieces in order to see if I can put them back together again.

Some years ago a friend of mine — slightly misquoting the late Douglas Adams (although doubtless unintentionally) — told me that if I wanted to make an omelette she would expect to find a kitchen in flames and several

unconscious chefs. She reassured me, though, that what emerged at the end of the process would be more impressive than the average omelette. In setting out to explore French perceptions of the western Empire and its rulers after the fall of the Hohenstaufen I did not set out to either burn down the kitchen or render any of the chefs unconscious. At the same time, I have found it necessary to question some of the key assumptions we make about political conceptions in the medieval world and this has led me to direct one or two rather forceful blows at some of the more venerable theories about late-medieval French attitudes towards the western Empire and the place of Charlemagne in French thought, theories that are so much taken for granted that they have acquired the status of 'fact'. I fear I may have singed the kitchen slightly but I hope it has been worth the effort and that the end result is not entirely unpalatable.

Christchurch, New Zealand
October 2006

ABBREVIATIONS

Libraries

BnF Bibliothèque nationale de France

Series of Sources

Acta Imperii *Acta Imperii Angliae et Franciae ab anno 1267 ad annum 1313. Dokumente vornehmlich zur Geschichte der auswärtigen Beziehungen Deutschlands*, ed. by F. Kern (Tübingen: Siebeck, 1911; repr. Hildersheim: Olms, 1973)

Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi sive constitutiones, privilegia, mandata, instrumenta quae supersunt istius imperatoris et filiorum ejus. Accedunt epistolae paparum et documenta varia*, ed. by J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, 7 vols in 12 parts (Paris: Plon, 1852–61)

Layettes *Layettes du Trésor des chartes*, ed. by A. Teulet and others, 5 vols (Paris: Plon, 1863–1910)

MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MGH Constitutiones MGH, *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*

MGH SS	MGH, <i>Scriptores</i> (Hannover: Hahn, 1826–)
RHC, Occ.	<i>Recueil des historiens des croisades, historiens occidentaux</i> , 16 vols (Paris: L'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1841–1906)
RHGF	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , 24 vols (Paris: Various publishers, 1738–1904)

Individual Works

Abbreviatione Historiae Figuralis

E Chronico Girardi ab Arvernia, canonici Claromontensis, et anonyma ejusdem chronici continuatione, circa annum M.CC.LXXXVIII. scripta, ed. by J. D. Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1855), **xxi**, 212–19

Chronica majora

Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora, ed. by H. R. Luard, *Rolls Series*, 7 vols (London: HMSO, 1872–83)

Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto

Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto et anonyma ejusdem operis continuatio, ed. by J. D. Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF*, **xxi** (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1855), pp. 1–5 (Chronicle of Géraud de Frachet from 1230); pp. 5–70 (Anonymous continuations from 1268 up until 1328)

Chronique attribuée a Baudoin d'Avesnes

Extraits de la Chronique attribuée a Baudoin d'Avesnes, fils de la comtesse Marguerite de Flandre, ed. by J. D. Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1855), **xxi**, 159–81

Chronique de Primat

Chronique de Primat, traduite par Jean du Vignay, ed. by N. de Wailly, L. Delisle, and C.-M.-G. B.

- Jourdain, in *RHGF* (Paris: Welter, 1894), xxiii, 1–106
- Chronique latine* *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368*, ed. by H. Géraud, 2 vols (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1843–44)
- Deliberatio* *Deliberatio Magistri Petri de Bosco Advocati Regalium causarum Balliviae Constantien et Procuratoris Universitatis eiusdem loci, super agendis ab excellentissimo Principe et Domino, domino Philippo, Dei gratia Francorum Rege, Contra Epistolam Papae Romani, inter caetera continentem haec verba: Scire te volumus [...]*, ed. by P. Dupuy, in *Histoire du différend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII et Philippes le Bel roy de France* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1655), *Actes et Preuves du differend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII. et le roy Philippes le Bel*, pp. 44–47
- Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem* *Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem super Potestate commissa Praelatis Ecclesiasticis atque Principibus Terrarum*, in *Three Royalist Tracts, 1296-1302. Antequam essent clerici; Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem; Quaestio in utramque partem*, ed. and trans. by R. W. Dyson (Bristol: Thoemmes, 1999), pp. 12–45
- Flores chronicorum* *E Floribus chronicorum seu Catalogo Romanorum pontificum, necnon e Chronico regum Francorum, auctore Bernardo Guidonis, episcopo Lodovensi*, ed. by J. D. Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1855), xxi, 690–734 [unless otherwise stated, the reference is specifically to Bernard Gui's *Flores chronicorum*]
- Fragment chronique rimée* *Fragment de la chronique rimée de Philippe Mousket*, ed. by N. de Wailly and L. Delisle, in *RHGF* (Paris: Palmé, 1865), xxii, 34–81

Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae

Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae; auctore Guillelmo de Nangiac — Vita Sancti Ludovici regis Franciae, ed. by P. C. F. Daunou and J. Naudet, in *RHGF* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1840), xx, 309–464

Grandes Chroniques

Les Grandes Chroniques de France, ed. by J. Viard, 10 vols (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1920–53)

Historia Regum Francorum

Ex Philippi Mousket Historia Regum Francorum, ed. by A. Tobler, *MGH SS*, 26, pp. 718–821

Livre des saintes paroles

Livre des saintes paroles et des bons faiz nostre saint roy Looÿs, in *Joinville, Vie de saint Louis*, ed. by J. Monfrin, new edn (Paris: Garnier, 1998)

Memoriale historiarum

Excerpta e Memoriali historiarum, auctore Johanne Parisiensi, Sancti Victoris Parisiensis canonico regulari, ed. by J. D. Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1855), xxi, 630–76

Quaestio in utramque partem

Quaestio disputata in utramque partem, pro et contra pontificiam potestatem, in *Three Royalist Tracts, 1296-1302. Antequam essent clerici; Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem; Quaestio in utramque partem*, ed. and trans. by R. W. Dyson (Bristol: Thoemmes, 1999), pp. 46–111

Rex pacificus

Quaestio de potestate papae (Rex pacificus) / An Enquiry into the Power of the Pope: A Critical Edition and Translation, ed. and trans. by R. W. Dyson (Lampeter: Mellen, 1999)

Summaria brevis

Petrus de Bosco (Pierre Dubois), Summaria brevis et compendiosa doctrina felicitis expeditionis et abbreviacionis guerrarum ac litium regni Francorum, ed. by H. Kämpf (Leipzig: Teubner, 1936)

Supplication du pueble de France

La Supplication du pueble de France au Roy, contre le Pape Boniface le VIII., ed. by P. Dupuy in *Histoire du différend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII et Philippes le Bel roy de France* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1655), *Actes et Preuves du differend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII. et le roy Philippes le Bel*, pp. 214–19

Relating to the *Corpus iuris canonici*

Dist.	<i>Distinctiones</i> of Gratian's <i>Decretum</i> , cited by number and chapter
X	<i>Extravagantium</i> , cited by book, title and chapter
VI°	<i>Liber sextus</i> , cited by book, title and chapter

Secondary Literature

<i>BEC</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>HLF</i>	<i>Histoire littéraire de la France</i>
<i>LexMA</i>	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i> , 10 vols (Munich: Various, 1977–99)
<i>Neues Archiv</i>	<i>Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde</i>
<i>RH</i>	<i>Revue historique</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>

FIGURES

Figure 1, p. 3. Seal of the Bishop of Viviers, Adalbert de Peyre. Paris, Archives nationales, *Sceaux, collection Douët d'Arcq*, D. 6936. 1305. Photo courtesy of the Archives nationales.

Figure 2, p. 4. Seal of the Bishop of Viviers, Pierre de Mortemart. Paris, Archives nationales, *Sceaux, collection Douët d'Arcq*, D. 6938. 1325. Photo courtesy of the Archives nationales.

Figure 3, p. 95. Simon d'Orléans, 'The Emperor Frederick II', *L'art de la chace des oisiaus*. Paris, BnF, MS *français*, 12400, fol. 3^r. c. 1310. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 4, p. 177. Jacques I Androuet du Cerceau, 'Grand'salle of the Palais de la Cité'. Paris, BnF, Estampes, Vx 15, p. 269 (1155). 1580. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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Plate 1, p. 153. 'Trial of Robert III d'Artois'. Paris, BnF, MS français, 18437, fol. 2^r. *c.* 1336. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Plate 2, p. 154. *Atelier* of Thomas de Maubeuge, *Grandes Chroniques de France*. Paris, BnF, MS français, 10132, fol. 147^r. *c.* 1318. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Plate 3, p. 155. *Atelier* of Thomas de Maubeuge, *Grandes Chroniques de France*. Paris, BnF, MS français, 10132, fol. 155^v. *c.* 1318. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Plate 4, p. 156. *Atelier* of Thomas de Maubeuge, *Grandes Chroniques de France*. Paris, BnF, MS français, 10132, fol. 132^r. *c.* 1318. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

MAPS AND GENEALOGICAL TABLES

Map 1, p. xxiv. France (*c.* 1300). Cartography: Marney Brosnan, Department of Geography, University of Canterbury, Christchurch. © Chris Jones.

Map 2, p. 261. The Franco-Imperial Border Region (*c.* 1300). Cartography: Marney Brosnan, Department of Geography, University of Canterbury, Christchurch. © Chris Jones.

Table 1, p. 363. The Capetian-Valois Dynasty / The Angevin Dynasty of Naples

Table 2, p. 364. The Hohenstaufen Dynasty / The Plantagenet Dynasty / The Habsburg Dynasty / The Luxembourg Dynasty

Table 3, p. 365. Succession in the Empire



Map 1: France (c. 1300). Cartography: Marney Brosnan, Department of Geography, University of Canterbury, Christchurch. © Chris Jones.

INTRODUCTION

Interpretations

In the early 1280s the abbey of Mazan acquired an area to the south of the Vivarais called Berg, an act which led to a series of disputes with the inhabitants of neighbouring Saint-Andéol. The abbey, in search of a protector, concluded an agreement with an agent of the Capetian king Philippe III le Hardi: in return for royal protection the monks agreed to the establishment of an outpost of royal authority, the *bastide* of Villeneuve-de-Berg.¹ In a little over two decades this was followed by an agreement between Philippe IV le Bel and the Bishop of Viviers which established royal authority over the whole of a previously autonomous region.² The case of Viviers, an otherwise rather unremarkable bishopric in what is now southern France, has been often accorded particular significance in accounts of the process by which French royal authority was expanded and consolidated before the outbreak of the Hundred Years War. In common with Capetian efforts to establish their rights in the bishopric and city of Lyon situated on the Saône and the county of Burgundy beyond it, the Vivarais has drawn much comment because it was a case where expansion took place at the expense of the theoretical jurisdiction of

¹ J. Régny, 'La première étape de la pénétration Capétienne en Vivarais: La fondation de Villeneuve-de-Berg et la mise en pariage de son territoire (novembre 1284)', *Revue du Vivarais*, 88 (1984), 181–99.

² L. Gallet, *Les traités de pariage dans la France féodale* (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1935), pp. 109–10.

the western Empire.³ The substitution of Capetian authority for imperial is certainly striking. It is nowhere more clearly symbolized than in the changes made to the seal of the bishops of Viviers in the opening years of the fourteenth century:⁴ as late as 1305 Bishop Adalbert de Peyre's seal presented him, as it had done his predecessor, flanked by imperial eagles;⁵ after Adalbert's agreement with Philippe IV of the same year future bishops appeared on their seals flanked by two *écus* bearing French fleur-de-lys.⁶ It might be asked, though, whether the significance of these changes, from the perspective of the contemporaries who witnessed them, has been understood fully by historians. One of the aims of this book is to explore what the absorption of formerly imperial territory such as the Vivarais meant to the inhabitants of late-medieval France.

The consolidation of royal authority that drew the Bishop of Viviers, the Archbishop of Lyon, and others into the Capetian-Valois orbit has been often considered both a catalyst for and an expression of a fundamental change in medieval perceptions of the world. This change involved the development of an increasingly strong link between group identities and centralized political entities. 'National' or, to avoid the potentially misleading connotations associated with this word, 'regnal',⁷ identities crystallized in the kingdoms of

³ See, for example: A. Leroux, *Recherches critiques sur les relations politiques de la France avec l'Allemagne de 1292 à 1378* (Paris: Vieweg, 1882), pp. 53, 122; J. R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 350–51, 353; B. Resmini, *Das Arelat im Kräftefeld der französischen, englischen und angiovinischen Politik nach 1250 und das Einwirken Rudolfs von Habsburg* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1980), pp. 307–18.

⁴ The change in episcopal seals was first noted by J.-B. de Vaivre, 'Le changement d'armes des évêques de Viviers sous Philippe IV le Bel', *Archivum heraldicum. Internationales Bulletin*, 86 (1972), 54–58.

⁵ Seal of Adalbert de Peyre (1305), Paris, Archives nationales, *Sceaux, collection Douët d'Arcq*, D 6936 (fig. 1). For the seal of Adalbert's predecessor, Guillaume de Falguières (1296): Vaivre, 'Le changement d'armes', p. 55.

⁶ Seal of Pierre de Mortemart (1325), Paris, Archives nationales, *Sceaux, collection Douët d'Arcq*, D 6938 (fig. 2). The change in arms may have appeared as early as 1308 and Adalbert's successor, Louis de Poitiers, certainly employed fleur-de-lys on the episcopal money he minted: Vaivre, 'Le changement d'armes', pp. 56, 58, n. 15.

⁷ I use the term in the sense defined by Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900–1300*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 254. As Reynolds has noted, the problem with using the term 'nation' is not one of whether or not medieval conceptions of nations existed — they clearly did — but the current tendency to associate automatically the term 'national' exclusively with the modern idea of the 'nation-state': S. Reynolds, 'The Idea of the Nation as a Political Community', in *Power and the Nation in*



Figure 1: Seal of the Bishop of Viviers, Adalbert de Peyre. Paris, Archives nationales, *Sceaux, collection Douët d'Arcq*, D. 6936. 1305. Photo courtesy of the Archives nationales.

England and France in the later part of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth. Some historians, such as Bernard Guenée, have noted that what were to all intents and purposes nascent 'states' began to emerge from the twelfth century, even in the absence of a precise contemporary linguistic term to describe such political entities.⁸ The development of conceptions of the 'state' is often considered to have been fuelled by new philosophical ideas, derived

European History, ed. by L. E. Scales and O. Zimmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 54–66.

⁸ B. Guenée, *L'Occident aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles: Les États* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1971), pp. 60–63.



Figure 2: Seal of the Bishop of Viviers, Pierre de Mortemart. Paris, Archives nationales, *Sceaux*, collection Douët d'Arcq, D. 6938. 1325. Photo courtesy of the Archives nationales.

primarily from Aristotle's *Politics*, new legal ideas,⁹ and a decline in the material political authority of the western Empire.

The mid-thirteenth century re-discovery of the *Politics* with its argument that man is by nature a political animal and that the fulfilment of his potential necessitates his participation in the political community, the interpretation of this seminal work by men such as Thomas Aquinas, and the continuing development of jurisprudence undoubtedly led to the development of new political ideas. Historians have suggested that, concomitantly, the English and French kingdoms came to be characterized by the emergence of an outlook which denied the validity of any form of supra-regnal authority, in particular

⁹Although, as Joseph Canning has noted, the importance of legal ideas in the development of concepts of the 'state' has been often eclipsed by revived Aristotelianism: J. Canning, 'Ideas of the State in Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century Commentators on the Roman Law', *TRHS*, series 5, 33 (1983), 1–27 (pp. 1–2).

that traditionally associated with the papacy and the Empire. As Michael Wilks put it: 'the corrosive influence of Aristotle on the traditional Christian concept of society as a single universal political entity' did not manifest itself fully until the sixteenth century, 'nevertheless signs of a totally different view of the right order in Europe are unmistakable by the end of the thirteenth century'.¹⁰ While alternative models, based on principles of universalism, continued to exist and to be propagated by men such as Marsilius of Padua,¹¹ these were now, according to historians such as Georges de Lagarde,¹² Walter Ullmann,¹³ and Joseph Strayer,¹⁴ in competition with, and losing ground to, a new conception of how the world should be properly ordered. For example, Professor Strayer's belief that Philippe IV sought to define the boundaries of his kingdom, that the King wished specifically to establish 'fixed and definite boundaries with the Empire', and that he had 'perhaps a clearer idea of what a boundary was' than his predecessors, is imbued with the assumption that Philippe was inspired by this ideology.¹⁵ It is in the light of such views that the assertion of royal authority over the Vivarais is often read to be the expression of a new political ideology. Should it necessarily be assumed, however, that the development of

¹⁰ M. J. Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages. The Papal Monarchy with Augustinus Triumphus and the Publicists*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 2nd series, 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 431.

¹¹ For a summary of key pro-papal and pro-imperial treatises articulating a universalist perspective in the early-fourteenth century: J. P. Canning, 'Introduction: Politics, Institutions and Ideas', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350–c.1450*, ed. by J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 341–66 (pp. 363–64). For an overview of the thought of several key pro-imperial writers from Engelbert of Admont in the early-fourteenth century to Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II) in the mid-fifteenth: A. Black, *Political Thought in Europe 1250–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 92–108.

¹² G. de Lagarde, *La naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du moyen âge*, 1: *Bilan du XIII^e siècle*, 6 vols (Paris: Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1956–70).

¹³ W. Ullmann, 'The Development of the Medieval Idea of Sovereignty', *EHR*, 64 (1949), 1–33; W. Ullmann, *A History of Political Thought: The Middle Ages* (London: Penguin, 1965).

¹⁴ Professor Strayer believed that a decline in subscription to universalist ideas set in as early as the eleventh-century Investiture Contest after which, 'the claims of the revived Western Empire to universal domination could no longer be taken seriously', J. R. Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 22.

¹⁵ Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, pp. 351–52.

new political conceptions automatically led the inhabitants of late-medieval Europe to cast off their old ones wholeheartedly?

The perspective of Joseph Strayer, Walter Ullmann, and others has proved an influential one and continues to leave its mark upon the work of both specialists in the development of political thought¹⁶ and historians more generally.¹⁷ Its origins lie in the concerns which fuelled historical research for much of the nineteenth century and a large part of the twentieth. These concerns were intimately connected with determining the origins of the 'nation-state' and thereby tracing the lineage of modern political institutions.¹⁸ This research has provoked multiple answers according varying degrees of importance to the events of the thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. All have in common that while they might claim to offer an account of *history*, they are, in reality, part of what Otto Gerhard Oexle has described as the *histoire d'un problème historique*.¹⁹ In this case interest in the origins of the nation-state has acted as a filter through which medieval society has been interpreted. While there is nothing intrinsically wrong with the exploration of the origins of contemporary institutions and attitudes, at the same time such an approach is not necessarily conducive to determining medieval perceptions of the world. By comparing Jakob Burckhardt's and Ferdinand Tönnies' attitudes towards the relationship between the individual and society in the Middle Ages,²⁰ Professor Oexle illustrates that historical research may be more revealing of nineteenth

¹⁶ For example, the general approach adopted in: Black, especially pp. 85–116. Black has, however, rightly questioned Ullmann's conception of the role Aristotle played in shaping late-medieval political thought: pp. 11, 20, 78.

¹⁷ For example: 'A glance at the wider European setting will reveal that this was an age which witnessed the death of old 'universal' values, whether papal or imperial, and the rise of 'national' ones in their place. If there were still a long road to be travelled in Italy and Germany, developments would occur more quickly in France, England, and Iberia.', C. Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c.1300–c.1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 141.

¹⁸ For one anglophone example amongst many: G. Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1946).

¹⁹ O. G. Oexle, 'L'Historicisation de l'histoire', in *Les tendances actuelles de l'histoire du moyen âge en France et en Allemagne. Actes des colloques de Sèvres (1997) et Göttingen (1998) organisés par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et le Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte*, ed. by J.-C. Schmitt and O. G. Oexle (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002), pp. 31–41 (pp. 31–32).

²⁰ Oexle, 'L'Historicisation de l'histoire', pp. 32–34.

and twentieth century concerns and mentalities than it is about medieval society.²¹

It is not difficult to recognize today that the approach of historians such as Strayer belong to a particular historical debate. It is equally apparent that the approach adopted by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars, such as Du Chesne and Du Cange, sprang in part from a desire to glorify the kings of France.²² The distinctiveness of both approaches is discernible with relative ease not because the interests of contemporary society no longer define the historical debate, but because the ‘problem’ with which historians are concerned has changed. Amongst the most influential factors in shaping the new historical debate has been the emergence of supra-national organizations and institutions since 1945. It is not, perhaps, coincidental that Andrea Sommerlechner’s recent survey of perceptions of the Emperor Frederick II adopted a pan-European approach rather than choosing to focus upon one particular ‘national’ group.²³ As Len Scales has noted, it is difficult not to see in recent considerations of the concept of the medieval nation a reflection of the concerns of the present day.²⁴ An awareness of the historical discourse of which they are a part, while it may not liberate historians from its constraints, does enable at least some re-orientation of focus.

The intention of the present work is to address an aspect of a deceptively simple question: how did the inhabitants of France in the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century view their world? Two particular facets of this question are to be focused upon. The first is the perception of rulers of the western Empire in a period in which the authority they exercised underwent a dramatic decline. The second concerns conceptions of political structures and

²¹ O. G. Oexle, *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeichen des Historismus. Studien zu Problemgeschichten der Moderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); French translation: O. G. Oexle, *L’Historisme en débat de Nietzsche à Kantorowicz*, trans. with an introduction by I. Kalinowski (Paris: Aubier, 2001).

²² J.-M. Moeglin, ‘L’Historiographie moderne et contemporaine en France et en Allemagne et les chroniqueurs du Moyen Âge’, in *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. by F. Autrand, C. Gauvard, and J.-M. Moeglin (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), pp. 301–38 (pp. 305–08).

²³ A. Sommerlechner, *Stupor mundi? Kaiser Friedrich II. und die mittelalterliche Geschichtsschreibung* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999).

²⁴ L. E. Scales, ‘Identifying “France” and “Germany”: Medieval Nation-Making in Some Recent Publications’, *Bulletin of International Medieval Research*, 6 (2000), 21–46 (pp. 42–43).

the fundamental organization of society. The past fifteen years have witnessed the curtains begin to be drawn back on these topics. Jacques Krynen has sought to illuminate the development of royal ideology in France and in doing so has sought to address attitudes towards the Empire. Yet it must be noted that he has focused primarily upon the evolution of this ideology from the mid-fourteenth century and has been content largely to rely upon many longstanding assumptions for the period prior to this.²⁵ Mireille Chazan has charted the development of conceptions of the Empire and its rulers in one particular strand of universal history written within the confines of certain monastic communities in France.²⁶ While also focused upon perceptions of the Empire and its rulers, this book differs fundamentally from Dr Chazan's work or, for example, from my earlier approach to the pamphleteer Pierre Dubois:²⁷ this examination of French mentalities is intended, as it were, to throw open the shutters on the whole house, rather than to illuminate a single room and catalogue its contents.

The approach adopted here runs contrary to many of the prevailing currents of contemporary historiography. In particular it is a radical departure from the individual 'case-study' methodology pursued by many recent francophone scholars who have touched upon French attitudes towards the Empire and its rulers. Yet a broader approach is justified by the opportunity it offers to assess the extent to which attitudes may be considered representative and to determine the relationship between particular ideas and mentalities. The intention is to build up a tableau depicting the place occupied by the Empire and its rulers in French thought as a whole. The first element in constructing such a picture is an examination of the immediate concerns responsible for shaping attitudes towards contemporary imperial rulers and would-be rulers, in particular the most conspicuous of these, Frederick II. The second is a re-consideration of the traditional place historians have assigned to Charlemagne in French thought, the most ubiquitous figure connected with the Empire in

²⁵ J. Krynen, *L'Empire du roi. Idées et croyances politiques en France XIII^e–XV^e siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1993); J. Krynen, 'Idéologie et Royauté', in *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. by F. Autrand, C. Gauvard, and J.-M. Moeglin (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), pp. 609–20.

²⁶ M. Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle de Sigebert de Gembloux à Jean de Saint-Victor (XII^e–XIV^e siècle)* (Paris: Champion, 1999).

²⁷ C. N. Jones, 'Rex Francie in regno suo princeps est: The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', *Comitatus*, 34 (2003), 49–87.

thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century France. Subsequently the intention is the elucidation of the fundamental assumptions which formulated attitudes towards imperial rulers and towards the Empire as an institution. In the light of this exploration the final objective is to determine whether any particular factors differentiated the Empire and its rulers from other forms of political organization and to assess the place both were considered to occupy in Christian society.

Choosing a Perspective

An exploration of perceptions must first establish whose perspective is to be considered. There is little to be gained by superimposing categories if these bear little relation to medieval conceptions. What might be considered the most obvious solution, the use of contemporary medieval political boundaries, is problematic. Although such boundaries reflect contemporary perceptions of a division, their employment as sole criteria risks imposing arbitrary separations and associations little different from those created by superimposed categories.²⁸

One solution might be to consider a region of French 'cultural' influence. Even if recent research has suggested that francophone culture did not enjoy a complete monopoly in the late-medieval West,²⁹ on some levels, at least, such a region could be interpreted to encompass most of western Europe. The French language, and the dialect of Paris and the Île-de-France region in particular, was steadily, as Malcolm Vale put it, 'becoming a true *lingua franca* of secular discourse' in western Europe.³⁰ To take another example: the architectural style developed in and around Paris during the reign of Louis IX influenced the

²⁸ There seems, for example, little justification for the line Sommerlechner draws in her catalogue of sources between Philippe Mousket and the chronicler patronised by Baudouin d'Avesnes, both of whom wrote in French and drew upon the resources of the abbey of Saint-Denis: Sommerlechner, pp. 545, 548.

²⁹ The extent to which the courts of England and the Low Countries were dominated by francophone culture is discussed in: M. Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270–1380* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 282–94.

³⁰ Vale, p. 286.

design of buildings as diverse as Westminster Abbey and Cologne Cathedral,³¹ and reached as far south as the Italian *regno*.³²

A more limited French 'cultural milieu' may be defined by proposing that 'culture' be understood in the sense of not simply a shared language and possibly customs, but also as involving a subjection to the influence, if not the direct control, of the Capetian-Valois kings. On the basis of such criteria this 'cultural' milieu included not simply the region within the political bounds of the French kingdom but extended beyond it encompassing, for example, the county of Hainaut, technically subject to the jurisdiction of the Empire. A further case would be the town of Metz which, although outside the boundaries of the French kingdom, was populated by French speaking inhabitants who produced their own translation into French of one of the most popular Latin works produced within the Île-de-France, Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*.³³ This milieu may also be considered to embrace those such as Charles d'Anjou, who, although they spent much of their time outside it, were products of a French environment.³⁴

A common vernacular must be considered of particular importance in the transmission of ideas. Yet the use of French does not necessarily indicate a work

³¹ R. Branner, *St Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London: Zwemmer, 1965), pp. 123–34. For a revised interpretation of the influence of architectural models developed in northern France, one which questions, in particular, the impact of a Parisian 'court style': P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200–1400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). It is worth noting that a poem written at the time of the 1259 Anglo-French peace negotiations included the humorous claim that the English king Henry III had been so impressed by his French counterpart's supreme architectural achievement, the Sainte-Chapelle, that he had wanted to bring it back to England in a cart: P. Rickard, *Britain in Medieval French Literature, 1100–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), p. 171.

³² C. Bruzelius, 'ad modum Franciae: Charles of Anjou and Gothic Architecture in the Kingdom of Sicily', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 50 (1991), 402–20.

³³ S. Lusignan, 'La réception de Vincent de Beauvais en langue d'oïl', in *Wissensorganisierende und wissensvermittelnde Literatur im Mittelalter, Perspektiven ihrer Erforschung (Kolloquium 5.–7. Dezember 1985)*, ed. by N. R. Wolf (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1987), pp. 34–45 (p. 42). For an introduction to this translation and a selection of extracts: M. Paulmier-Foucart and M.-C. Duchenne, *Vincent de Beauvais et le Grand miroir du monde* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 333–37.

³⁴ J. Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 9–13.

circulated amongst the totality of French speakers. On the contrary, the influence of the French kings seems to have fostered the development of, in particular, an historical culture specific to the northern parts of the French kingdom and the regions drawn into the Capetian-Valois orbit. For example, a French text of the *Grandes Chroniques* compilation circulating in the imperial bishopric of Cambrai was based upon a work originally produced in the royal abbey of Saint-Denis north of Paris. It shared its basic content with a compilation sold to a Norman by Thomas de Maubeuge, the owner of a Parisian *atelier* who actively maintained familial interests in the county of Hainaut. The circulation of *Grandes Chroniques* compilations was essentially restricted to the northern part of the French kingdom and its immediate surroundings.³⁵ There is little to suggest that even this, the most popular of the vernacular French works of history, reached beyond this region and caught the imagination of, for example, the French-speaking nobility of Plantagenet England in the years before the Hundred Years War. The fact that a work was written in the universal language of Christian Europe, Latin, removed, at least amongst clerics, any linguistic limitations. Yet although certain works, such as the *Speculum historiale*, found a wider audience this was unusual, particularly in the case of contemporary historical works: Aubri de Trois-Fontaines' chronicle and Guillaume de Nangis's life of Louis IX, for example, appear to have enjoyed extremely limited geographical circulation and many monastic chronicles never reached beyond the walls of their abbeys.

With the exception of English Gascony, the regions south of the Loire were, from the reign of Louis VIII, firmly integrated into the political structure of the Capetian-Valois kingdom. Simultaneously, they were recognized to differ from the northern parts of the kingdom, most strikingly in terms of language and legal practices. Differences in language, in particular, led to simple incomprehension and positive hostility. A native of Cahors, Pope John XXII was forced to ask King Charles IV le Bel not to send him secret correspondence *in vulgari gallico* because he could not read it and had to employ a translator. Around 1300 Philippe IV's *bête noire*, the Bishop of Pamiers, Bernard Saisset, branded Pierre de la Chapelle-Taillefer, Bishop of Toulouse, useless to the Church and the country because he was French, and spoke a language which, for his flock, had always been the language of the enemy. Pierre was, so Bernard

³⁵ B. Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1980), p. 258.

claimed, hated because he spoke French.³⁶ The differences between the regions north and south of the Loire were so profound and apparent to contemporaries that they led the inhabitants of the north to develop and impose a conception of unity, embodied in the invention of the term 'Languedoc', upon a region united by little beyond its distinctiveness from the north.³⁷

Interchange certainly took place between north and south, possibly the most striking example of which was the appearance of lawyers such as Guillaume de Nogaret in the employ of Philippe IV. Yet there remained a profound cultural divide, symbolized by the absence of tournaments — a key element of northern chivalric culture — from the south and by the absence of a shared literature. In certain cases, such as the northern-French *Grandes Chroniques* and the works of the southern troubadours, this latter might be explained by a difference of language. Yet the infrequency with which, for example, even Latin historical works crossed the Loire, has led Bernard Guenée to go so far as to propose that a genre such as 'history' enjoyed a fundamentally different place in northern and southern mentalities: while never totally absent from the south it was far less important there than in the north.³⁸ Differences of language, culture,³⁹ customs, and, above all, a fundamentally different relationship with the French kings, one defined in the south by recent conquest and the violent suppression of the

³⁶ Y. Dossat, 'Patriotisme méridional du clergé au XIII^e siècle', in *Les évêques, les clercs et le roi (1250–1300)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 7 (Toulouse: Privat, 1972), pp. 419–52 (p. 420).

³⁷ P. Contamine, 'La royauté française à l'origine de la *patria occitana*?', in *Identité régionale et conscience nationale en France et en Allemagne du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne (Actes du colloque organisé par l'Université Paris XII - Val de Marne, l'Institut universitaire de France et l'Institut Historique Allemand à l'Université Paris XII et à la Fondation Singer-Polignac, les 6, 7 et 8 octobre 1993)*, ed. by R. Babel and J.-M. Moeglin (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997), pp. 207–17.

³⁸ Guenée, *Histoire et culture*, p. 311.

³⁹ The scope of the cultural differences between northern France and the Midi has been highlighted recently by Jacques Paul in an article which makes clear the profoundly different role played by the Church in the development of education in the two regions before the mid-thirteenth century. Paul suggests that the enthusiastic involvement of ecclesiastical institutions in fostering learning in the north led to a focus on theology and a particular social importance being attributed to those who studied it, while in the Midi the Church's neglect of education resulted in a more important social role being assigned to those with medical or legal training: J. Paul, 'Le contraste culturel entre le Nord et le Midi dans la France médiévale', in *Église et culture en France méridionale (XII^e-XIV^e siècle)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 35 (Toulouse: Privat, 2000), pp. 19–48.

Albigensian heresy,⁴⁰ militate against examining the southern regions in conjunction with those of the north. For this reason, with certain exceptions, the regions south of the Loire such as Gascony, which continued to enjoy an autonomous existence subject to the Plantagenet dynasty, or which had been recently integrated into the kingdom, most notably the county of Toulouse, will be excluded from this study, which will focus upon an essentially 'northern' French perspective.

Amongst the exceptions from the Languedoc undoubtedly the most important are the Dominicans. Imposed upon the southern region, and under Pope Gregory IX made the cornerstone of the Inquisition, the order was dependent upon the support of the papacy and the Capetian-Valois kings in order to maintain its position.⁴¹ If southern Dominicans were not necessarily well disposed towards the 'French',⁴² it is notable not only that the Dominicans were the only group in the southern region to produce a substantial corpus of historical works, but that men such as Gérard de Frachet (b. 25 March 1205; d. 4 October 1271) spent their formative years in Paris⁴³ and others possessed links with the

⁴⁰ Hostility to the 'French' shaped attitudes towards northerners in a wider southern milieu encompassing not only the 'French' county of Toulouse but the imperial county of Provence. Concerning anti-French sentiment amongst the troubadours of Provence in the wake of the Albigensian crusade: M. Aurell, *La vielle et l'épée. Troubadours et politique en Provence au XIII^e siècle* (Paris: Aubier, 1989), pp. 54–58. Such sentiments did not evaporate after Charles d'Anjou's acquisition of Provence. Rather, they appear to have been fanned by an undercurrent of 'Ghibelline' sympathies, actively promoted, to some extent at least, by the Stauffer and their successors. For a summary: Aurell, *La vielle et l'épée*, pp. 227–32.

⁴¹ T. de Cauzons, *Les Albigeois et l'Inquisition* (Paris: Bloud, 1908; repr. Nîmes: Lacour, 2001), pp. 75–116; J. R. Strayer, *The Albigensian Crusades*, new edn with an epilogue by C. Lansing (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), pp. 143–62.

⁴² The inquisitor and native of Toulouse Guillaume Pelhisson (d. 1268) certainly hated heretics but he did not hold those from the north in particularly high regard either: Dossat, 'Patriotisme méridional', pp. 428–30. See, for example, Guillaume's comments concerning the Parisian masters sent to establish a university at Toulouse: 'Nec hoc valebat ad heresim extirpandam, immo hereticales homines eos ex adverso audientes multipliciter deridebant': *Guillaume Pelhisson, Chronique (1229–1244) suivie du récit des troubles d'Albi (1234)*, ed. and trans. by J. Duvernoy (Paris: CNRS, 1994), p. 38.

⁴³ Gérard, originally from Limoges, arrived in Paris in 1225, entered the Dominican order and remained at the Paris convent, Saint-Jacques, until possibly as late as 1233: R. Rech, 'Géraud de Frachet, l'Aquitaine et le roi de France', in *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. by F. Autrand, C. Gauvard, and J.-M. Moeglin (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), pp. 421–37 (p. 424).

court, such as Bernard Gui (d. 30 December 1331), who, in 1331, offered a version of his *Flores chronicorum* to Philippe VI.⁴⁴ Beyond the order's convents the audience for the literary output of these southern Dominicans lay north of the Loire: it was into French, not Occitan, that Gui's *Flores chronicorum* was translated (c. 1330; certainly pre-1368),⁴⁵ into a French work that his catalogue of French kings was incorporated,⁴⁶ and it was to the north that diffusion of Gérard's work was largely confined, its southernmost penetration being the Limousin and the Auvergne.⁴⁷ It was at the abbey of Saint-Denis that Gérard's universal chronicle found its most prolific continuators, first for the period 1268 to 1285, later for the period up to around 1316 and finally, in the hands of Richard Lescot, for the years up until 1344.⁴⁸

While the Dominicans may be considered intimately connected with the northern French milieu, it is also necessary to take into account that they possessed links with southern society. Via a Dominican intermediary certain aspects of southern culture might cross the *mur invisible* that Bernard Guenée suggested lay just south of the Loire.⁴⁹ Bernard Gui, for example, made use of the work of Count Raymond VII's chaplain Guillaume de Puylaurens. Both Gui and Gérard de Frachet also drew upon the resources of what was undoubtedly the most important southern centre for historical writing, the abbey of Saint-Martial of Limoges, possessed of one of the largest libraries in France.⁵⁰ While primarily focused upon what may be considered a northern

⁴⁴ A. Vernet, 'La diffusion de l'oeuvre de Bernard Gui, d'après la tradition manuscrite', in *Bernard Gui et son monde (XVI^e Colloque de Fanjeaux, 1980)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 16 (Toulouse: Privat, 1981), pp. 221–42 (p. 229).

⁴⁵ C. Couderc, 'Le Manuel d'histoire de Philippe VI de Valois', in *Études d'histoire du Moyen Âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod* (Paris: Cerf, 1896; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1975), pp. 415–44 (pp. 443–44).

⁴⁶ Couderc, 'Le Manuel d'histoire de Philippe VI de Valois', p. 435.

⁴⁷ R. Rech, *Géraud de Frachet: L'Engagement d'un historien au XIII^e siècle. Edition de sa chronique universelle*, Positions des thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion de 1993, (Paris: École nationale des chartes, 1993), pp. 146–47.

⁴⁸ *Chronique de Richard Lescot religieux de Saint-Denis (1328–1344) suivie de la continuation de cette chronique (1344–1364)*, ed. by J. Lemoine (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1896), pp. xxvi–xliii; G. M. Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey* (Brookline: Brill, 1978), pp. 110–11.

⁴⁹ Guenée, *Histoire et culture*, p. 311.

⁵⁰ A.-M. Lamarrigue, *Bernard Gui (1261–1331): un historien et sa méthode* (Paris: Champion, 2000), pp. 41–43.

French cultural milieu there is therefore a case for occasionally stepping slightly beyond this.

A 'northern French milieu' delimited by a combination of shared language, shared customs, and shared exposure to Capetian-Valois political influence will always remain, to a certain extent, an artificial construct invented more in the mind of the historian than existing in the minds of the inhabitants of late-medieval France. At the same time the idea is useful because it is sufficiently porous to enable the influence and evolution of ideas to be traced beyond the lands under the direct control of the Capetian-Valois kings. It also has the particular advantage of avoiding the imposition of largely irrelevant modern political boundaries on medieval Europe. Most historians would recognize that these can be particularly deceptive when they lead to consideration of regions such as Provence alongside the Île-de-France simply because they are both assumed to be elements of a 'France' whose boundaries match those of the contemporary country bearing that name. Yet the use of medieval political boundaries, such as territory defined as part of the 'kingdom of France', can only be employed with caution. The latter can prove equally deceptive when the cultural differences between, for example, the Languedoc and the Île-de-France are not taken account of. Choosing a precise period in which to explore perceptions of the Empire and its ruler is no less challenging than choosing whose perspective is to be explored.

With hindsight it is possible to see that the French kingdom rose to new heights under Saint Louis and his successors while the reality of Frederick II's empire did not survive him. Contemporaries were not, however, blessed with such hindsight, nor could they have predicted the disintegration of Capetian-Valois military power and prestige that followed the launch, in the late 1330s, of a series of campaigns by the English king Edward III. In the late-twelfth century the Empire collapsed into a chaotic civil war after the death of the Emperor Henry VI, while the early years of the thirteenth century saw Philippe II Auguste rapidly become the most successful military commander in Europe defeating both an English king and a German emperor. Yet, by the late 1220s France was a weakened kingdom ruled by a boy-king and his mother,⁵¹ while the

⁵¹ Blanche de Castille proved an effective regent during Louis IX's minority, but the unexpected death of her husband, Louis VIII, left her facing a renewed English threat and a series of baronial rebellions by magnates keen to assert their independence. For the period of Blanche's regency: R. Pernoud, *Blanche of Castile*, trans. by H. Noel (London: Collins, 1975), pp. 120–62; J. Richard, *Saint Louis, roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la*

Empire was ruled by arguably the most versatile ruler ever to occupy the imperial throne. Possibly the most important consideration when searching for perspectives on the medieval Empire and its rulers is not, therefore, to assume automatically that contemporaries believed either to be institutions whose decline, demise, and disappearance from the European stage was inevitable or even, indeed, desirable.

With the above caveat firmly in mind, this book will, broadly speaking, focus on examining the development of French perceptions in the period between the final collapse of the Hohenstaufen Empire, a collapse which initiated a lengthy imperial interregnum, the concomitant rise to prominence of the French monarchy under Louis IX, and the subsequent check placed upon Capetian-Valois expansion and consolidation by the Hundred Years War. This effectively means a focus upon the century between the 1240s — the years in which Louis IX escaped his mother's shadow and Frederick II's relations with the papacy broke down irretrievably — and the first notable signs of English military success in the 1340s. In order to understand contemporary perspectives as fully as possible, it will be necessary, however, to step outside these boundaries from time to time. In part this is necessitated by the need to demonstrate the influence of earlier ideas on those which developed in the century under examination; in part it is required to distinguish — and where necessary separate — later developments from those that occurred in these years.

The overall aim, then, is to explore perceptions of the Empire and its ruler as they developed in a northern French cultural milieu in a period in which the practical political authority exercised by western emperors fell from its height under Frederick II to a nadir not reached since the post-Carolingian, pre-Ottonian period. Practical imperial decline in this period was matched only by the expansion of French royal authority and growing Capetian-Valois prestige and self-confidence. A question at the heart of this study concerns how the latter impacted upon and shaped views of the Empire within the region in which Capetian-Valois influence could be felt most strongly. Having considered the issue of whose perspective is to be examined it is now necessary to turn to questions of how those perspectives are to be explored.

The Altered Image?

The view that the thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries were a period in which a new conception of political organization emerged and came to dominate perspectives in the French kingdom is largely a consequence of a traditional, and it may be suggested disproportionate, focus upon certain sources. Most prominent amongst these are the works of French specialists in Roman law, political pamphlets, and works based upon the newly re-discovered Aristotelian philosophy. While indisputably important, it is doubtful whether, given the tendency to examine these works largely in isolation, their proper contexts have been appreciated fully. Consequently, the extent to which the authors's perceptions have been understood and the degree to which, in any case, they may be considered representative of the northern French cultural milieu may be questioned. Mireille Chazan's recent study of conceptions of the Empire in universal histories illustrates one of the problems inherent in the use of a restricted source base: for the period in question it is limited to providing an insight into the perspectives of four members of the regular clergy.⁵² The very exercise of writing universal histories, particularly ones which, as here, drew heavily upon a work by an imperial apologist,⁵³ implied an emphasis upon the Empire and the emperor which may not accurately reflect the place both occupied in contemporary thought. Generalizations based on such an analysis can be misleading. Undoubtedly aware of this, Dr Chazan sought to locate these perspectives within a wider context but did not question traditional conceptions of what this context was.

The key to establishing a broader context does not lie simply in increasing the number of sources studied, but rather in multiplying the type.⁵⁴ Jean

⁵² Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 311–722.

⁵³ This source, the chronicle of Sigebert de Gembloux, is the subject of the first half of Chazan's book. For an overview of the conditions in which it was produced see, in particular: Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 105–21.

⁵⁴ As Arnold Esch noted: 'Ce ne sont pas simplement "beaucoup d'informations" mais des informations données par des sources de natures différentes qui garantissent la plus grande chance de transmission', A. Esch, 'Chance et hasard de transmission. Le problème de la *représentativité* et de la *déformation* de la transmission historique', in *Les tendances actuelles de l'histoire du moyen âge en France et en Allemagne. Actes des colloques de Sèvres (1997) et Göttingen (1998) organisés par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et le Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte*, ed. by J.-C. Schmitt and O. G. Oexle (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002), pp. 15–29 (p. 19). See also: A. Esch, 'Überlieferungs-

Dunbabin has noted that while historians of political philosophy, constitutional historians, and those exploring unspoken medieval assumptions about government all draw on different sources, all their sources 'have some claim to reveal the 'real' political thought of the age'.⁵⁵ In order to take a step closer to understanding the multifaceted nature of this 'real' political thought, it is necessary to add material varying from official documents to sermons, hagiography, and stained glass to the traditional works employed in assessing conceptions of political ideas. By far the richest source, however, and the one offering the possibility of surveying a range of perspectives across the northern French milieu, is historical material such as chronicles and annals.⁵⁶ In order to use such materials to establish a broader and more representative context, it is necessary that each source be itself properly contextualized. This involves discerning not only the original author's or patron's background and intentions⁵⁷ but also these same factors with regard to those who re-used

Chance und Überlieferungs-Zufall als methodisches Problem des Historikers', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 240 (1985), 529–70.

⁵⁵ J. Dunbabin, 'Government', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350-c.1450*, ed. by J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 477–519 (p. 477).

⁵⁶ Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century writers tended to ignore classical distinctions and use 'history' and 'chronicle' interchangeably, while the use of the term 'annals' became less frequent from the end of the twelfth century: B. Guenée, 'Histoires, annales, chroniques. Essai sur les genres historiques au Moyen Âge', *Annales*, 28 (1973), 997–1016 (pp. 1003–08).

⁵⁷ The need to determine such factors is highlighted by Rech's recent analysis of the work of the prior of the abbey of Saint-Martial of Limoges, Hélié Autenc (d. 1284). His analysis of the 'perspective' of Hélié Autenc (R. Rech, 'Charles d'Anjou et le Limousin. La conquête du royaume de Naples chez Hélié Autenc et Géraud de Frachet', *BEC*, 158 (2001), 443–73 (pp. 444–54)) is problematic because it is based upon the conflation of several separate chronicles. One of these was probably the prior of Saint-Martial's work, but other material was almost certainly written at the neighbouring abbey of Saint-Martin. The material was first conflated as a 'Great Chronicle of Limoges' created by nineteenth-century editors (*Majus chronicon Lemovicense, a Petro Coral et aliis conscriptum*, pp. 761–88; *Majoris chronici Lemovicensis, primum supplementum, sive breve chronicon summorum pontificum*, pp. 788–90; *Majoris chronici Lemovicensis, secundum supplementum, sive breve chronicon episcoporum Lemovicensium*, pp. 790–91; *Majoris chronici Lemovicensis, tertium supplementum, sive breve chronicon abbatum S. Martialis, auctore anonymo ejusdem abbatiae monacho*, pp. 791–92; *Majoris chronici Lemovicensis, quartum supplementum, sive chronicon abbatiae sancti Martini Lemovicensis, auctore Petro Coral, ejusdem monasterii abbate*, pp. 793–800; *Majoris chronici Lemovicensis, quintum supplementum, de pretiis annonae*, pp. 800–02 all ed. by J. D.

sources or parts of sources. It is necessary to recognize, in particular, that what appears novel to the modern academic is, as Bernard Guenée emphasized in the case of historical material,⁵⁸ of much less importance than the appreciation of the contemporary concerns that shaped the use and presentation of material. As Jacques Le Goff noted, in relation to the minstrel of Reims's *Récits*, the importance of a text may lie not in the facts it conveys but in its author's perspective.⁵⁹ Yet it is not enough simply to establish the context of individual sources: it is indispensable to appreciate their importance relative to each other.⁶⁰

A comparison of manuscript traditions suggests that Bernard Gui's *Flores chronicorum*, of which sixty-eight copies remain,⁶¹ reached a far wider audience during the period under consideration than, for example, the famous treatise *De potestate regia et papali*, by the Parisian theologian Jean Quidort (often referred to as simply Jean de Paris),⁶² of which only one copy exists from the

Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF*, xxi, 761–802). For a re-assessment of the relationship between the Limoges chronicle material see H. Duplès-Agier's introductory comments in his *Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges* (Paris: Société d'Histoire de France, 1874), pp. li–lix; J. Becquet, 'Pierre Coral et la chronique de Saint-Martial de Limoges au XIII^e siècle', *Bulletin de la société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, 118 (1990), 31–51 (pp. 31–32). The failure of Rech's analysis to contextualise fully the material under discussion by taking account of the internal divisions in the city of Limoges is similarly problematic. These divisions sometimes saw the Abbot of Saint-Martial counted amongst the partisans of the English king, a factor that does much to explain the apparent lack of enthusiasm at Saint-Martial in the 1260s for Charles d'Anjou's southern Italian victories. Concerning the city's divisions and the attitude of the abbots of Saint-Martial: R. Studd, 'The "Privilegiati" and the Treaty of Paris, 1259', in *La 'France anglaise' au Moyen Âge, colloque des historiens médiévistes français et britanniques. Actes du 111^e Congrès national des sociétés savantes (Poitiers, 1986), Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie, 1*, ed. by R. H. Bautier (Paris: CTHS, 1988), pp. 175–89 (pp. 181–86).

⁵⁸ B. Guenée, 'L'Historien et la compilation au XIII^e siècle', *Journal des Savants* (1985), 119–35; Moeglin, 'L'Historiographie', pp. 331–33.

⁵⁹ J. Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), pp. 377–78.

⁶⁰ G. Melville, 'Le problème des connaissances historiques au Moyen Âge. Compilation et transmission des textes', in *L'Historiographie médiévale en Europe. Actes du colloque organisé par la Fondation Européenne de la Science au Centre de Recherches Historiques et Juridiques de l'Université Paris I du 29 mars au 1^{er} avril 1989*, ed. by J.-P. Genet (Paris: CNRS, 1991), pp. 21–41 (pp. 22–23, 32).

⁶¹ Vernet, 'La diffusion de l'oeuvre de Bernard Gui', p. 226.

⁶² As Cunningham has remarked: 'There were just too many people called John of Paris living at the end of the thirteenth century'. As this book will examine the work of several men

first half of the fourteenth century. While Jean's work certainly contains novel elements, it is less clear whether they proved influential or that the concerns which stimulated them were widespread ones. In contrast, the dissemination of, for example, *Grandes Chroniques* compilations should provide a clearer indication of attitudes towards the Empire and their development. A limited manuscript tradition is not, however, necessarily an indication that ideas did not reach a wide audience.⁶³ This is particularly true of works written in the vernacular certain of which may have been conceived with oral presentation specifically in mind,⁶⁴ such as the metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris,⁶⁵ and the prose chronicle of the minstrel of Reims.⁶⁶ At the same time, it is necessary to remain aware of the intrinsic limitations connected with even a suitably contextualized source base.

An illuminated coronation *ordo* or the attribution of the coronation sword to Charlemagne may provide an insight into intentions connected with elements of the coronation ceremony; but they reveal little about how this symbolism may have been understood, or whether it was understood at all. Elucidating the reception of visual or literary material or gauging the 'public' response to efforts by the Capetian-Valois kings or others to promote particular

who could lay claim to the name 'Jean de Paris', I have chosen to label this Jean using the most common surname in the modern literature, although it is by no means the only surname attributed to him. For a list of these latter: F. A. Cunningham, 'The "Real Distinction" in John Quidort', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 8 (1970), 9–28 (pp. 12–13).

⁶³ Guenée, *Histoire et culture*, p. 256.

⁶⁴ Concerning vernacular prose history as an oral medium in the first half of the thirteenth century: G. M. Spiegel, 'Social Change and Literary Language: The Textualization of the Past in Thirteenth-Century Old French Historiography', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 17 (1987), 129–48 (pp. 138–41). It may be a mistake, however, to assume that a text was intended for oral delivery simply because it contained oral formulas. It has been suggested recently that although French prose often contained such formulas, their presence need not necessarily be interpreted as a sign a work was written to be read aloud: T. Venckeleer and J. Mortelmans, 'Écrire pour un auditeur ou pour un lecteur?', in *The Medieval Chronicle III: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle Doorn/Utrecht 12–17 July 2002*, ed. by E. Kooper (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), pp. 171–83.

⁶⁵ *Chronique rimée attribuée à Geffroi de Paris*, ed. by N. de Wailly and L. Delisle, in *RHGF*, xxii, 87–166 (p. 88).

⁶⁶ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au treizième siècle*, ed. by N. de Wailly (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1876), pp. vi–ix.

perspectives remains problematic.⁶⁷ The sources represent only the outlook of certain literate groups and even here we must avoid assuming that what survives necessarily represents a complete picture.⁶⁸ The form in which many sources are available to historians compound these difficulties.

In 1855 the editors of the twenty-first volume of the *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* chose to include in their collection an anonymous chronicle ending in 1286, probably written in the first half of Philippe IV's reign. This text may serve to illustrate one of the key problems associated with the available source material, a problem that is all too often overlooked. Of a lengthy history of the kings of France, the editors chose only to edit the 'original' portion of this chronicle, that is the section from 1226 to its conclusion.⁶⁹ The bulk of the chronicle was regarded as simply too similar to the chronicles of Saint-Denis to be worth including. When the editors of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* approached this source in 1882 they not only limited their selection to material subsequent to 1234 but adopted an even narrower focus by excluding all material not deemed relevant to the history of the Empire.⁷⁰ Historians owe an incalculable debt to nineteenth and early-twentieth-century editors. Without their efforts a work such as this book, indeed much historical enquiry that draws on chronicle sources, would be quite impossible or, at least, severely restricted. At the same time this case shows why their editions must be read with an awareness of the positivist criteria of factual originality that were frequently applied to the selection of material within chronicles and, indeed, even to the choice of which chronicles would be edited.⁷¹ It is necessary to bear these factors constantly in mind when employing

⁶⁷ For some recent reflections on the existence and assessment of 'public opinion' in the Middle Ages: B. Guenée, *L'Opinion publique à la fin du Moyen Âge d'après la Chronique de Charles VI du Religieux de Saint-Denis* (Paris: Perrin, 2002), pp. 7–17.

⁶⁸ Concerning the problems that the gaps in the historical record present for historians: Esch, 'Chance et hasard de transmission', p. 27.

⁶⁹ *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, ed. by J. D. Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF*, xxi, 80–102 and for the dating, p. 80.

⁷⁰ *Ex Historiae regum franciae continuatione parisiensi*, ed. by O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SS*, 26, pp. 603–10.

⁷¹ As the editors of the *RHGF* put it when explaining their decision to edit this particular chronicle: 'Nous avons cru devoir reproduire cette dernière partie d'une compilation où l'on trouvera en même temps des faits nouveaux, et des leçons méritaient d'être recueillies', *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, p. 81. Concerning the development of editorial practices from the seventeenth to the twentieth century: Moeglin,

the great nineteenth-century collections: in the case of this particular chronicle, for example, the editors have deprived us not only of a potentially rich sub-text of illuminations but, more fundamentally, of the wider context of the material. It is worth remembering that this account was never intended to be read as simply a report of the years 1226–86, but is a fragment of a wider history. As Björn Weiler makes clear when examining the English chronicler Matthew Paris's account of Richard of Cornwall's imperial candidature and the Christmas Parliament of 1256, if an incident is not situated within the context of a chronicle as a whole, the chronicler's intentions in depicting it in a specific manner may be misunderstood or lost.⁷²

Yet at least the anonymous chronicle ending in 1286 (which survives in only one manuscript)⁷³ was not subject to a further common editorial practice: the attempt to establish a text approximating to the autograph. Such efforts can be useful, but they neglect the fact that most contemporaries did not have such a text before them. As Gert Melville has noted, the concept of a fixed work does not help the historian to evaluate the reception of ideas.⁷⁴ Considering the *Grandes Chroniques* to be a fixed text provides one isolated snapshot view of the Empire and its rulers; understanding it as a manuscript tradition made up of diverse texts — one of which eventually happened to gain official recognition and came to dominate the later years of the tradition — provides a window onto the fabrication, development, and reception of ideas relating to the Empire across northern France and amongst numerous different social groups.

The study of manuscripts, while revealing what are effectively new perspectives and highlighting previously unknown aspects of well known works, such as the *mise en pages* of the single extant early-fourteenth-century French translation of *De arte venandi cum avibus*, may also give rise to a false sense of security. The scanned document, laptop, and latte disassociate the historian from the context of a source more profoundly than even a display case at the Louvre disassociates *Joyeuse* from the coronation ceremony at Reims. The

'L'Historiographie', pp. 301–31. For a brief history of the MGH: D. Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises — Problems in Monastic History* (London: Nelson, 1963), pp. 63–97.

⁷² In this particular case, as Dr Weiler has demonstrated convincingly, Matthew's portrayal of Richard's election is intended as part of his critique of Henry III's policies: B. Weiler, 'Matthew Paris, Richard of Cornwall's Candidacy for the German Throne, and the Sicilian Business', *Journal of Medieval History*, 26 (2000), 71–92 (pp. 79–92).

⁷³ *Ex Historiae regum franciae continuatione parisiensi*, p. 604.

⁷⁴ Melville, 'Le problème des connaissances historiques', pp. 37–40.

Richelieu reading rooms of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, while infinitely more beguiling than most libraries, are equally distant in both substance and atmosphere from the world in which the Norman knight Pierre Honoré would have perused the copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* which now resides there. It is also necessary to remember that few contemporaries, excepting unusual cases such as Bernard Gui and the Paris-based lawyer Gérard de Montaigu (d. 1339), had more than one source before them, and that they consequently lacked the comparative perspective of the historian and, in particular, the ability to contextualize the elements of a compilation.⁷⁵ At the same time, while it is necessary to maintain an awareness of such constraints and the elements of distortion they introduce into any analysis, they do not prevent some elucidation of the significance of the Empire and its ruler in French thought.

It has become an axiom of historical research that the decline of the western Empire in the second half of the thirteenth century led to a concomitant decline in subscription to the idea that a ruler might exercise temporal authority beyond the bounds of his kingdom. The disappearance of the Hohenstaufen from the European stage certainly left the Empire in the hands of a succession of would-be rulers who were unable to establish their authority over the German princes in the manner of Frederick II, his father, and grandfather. With the support of the princes the Empire was a viable political power; without this support it was, in reality, nothing but a hollow shell, its ruler the bearer of an empty title. There has been a tendency to assume that the vacuum created by the collapse of practical imperial authority was filled by new conceptions of political power derived, primarily, from a revived interest in the work of Aristotle. The papacy lacked the strength in the face of these new ideas to maintain its own claims to exercise forms of universal authority, and, by the early-fourteenth century, new conceptions of independent sovereign states had struggled into existence, their birth pangs symbolized most clearly by the great

⁷⁵ Melville, 'Le problème des connaissances historiques', p. 31. Gérard de Montaigu appears to have had a keen interest in history and possessed a particularly extensive set of works on the subject. In addition to a complete four volume set of Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* and several abridged versions, he also possessed the only copy of the metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris to remain extant, Martin of Troppau's history, and histories of Britain and Jerusalem: R. Rouse and M. Rouse, *Illiterati et uxorati. Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 2000), 1, 224.

conflict between Philippe le Bel and Pope Boniface VIII, an altercation which ended with the crushing humiliation of the papacy. The subsequent attempts by Henry, Count of Luxembourg, and Ludwig, Duke of Bavaria, to revive the flagging fortunes of the Empire were merely amusing sideshows enacted on a stage whose centre now belonged to the national monarchies of France and England with their increasingly sophisticated centralized forms of government. But is this how the inhabitants of late-medieval Europe viewed the world? There is, as will become clear, much to suggest that in the period between the collapse of the Hohenstaufen empire and the Hundred Years War the assessment made by many of those in the northern French cultural milieu dominated by the influence of the Capetian-Valois kings — the heartland of the new Aristotelianism — was somewhat different.

Rather than base my examination of French perceptions of the Empire and its rulers upon the small number of texts traditionally associated by historians with the development of a new political ideology, this book establishes a broader context for the development of political ideas by using the widest possible source base. Jean Quidort's *De potestate regia et papali* is by no means ignored. It is, however, placed in its proper context and considered alongside other potential sources for the underlying assumptions made about political organization, such as the stained glass of Chartres and the *Memoriale historiarum* of another famous 'Jean de Paris', Jean de Saint-Victor. Together these offer a fuller, more balanced portrait of the place occupied by the Empire and its ruler in French thought. They also suggest that many of those who depicted the reigns of Frederick II and his successors were by no means the disinterested seekers after truth hampered only by the poverty of their sources that they are often still depicted as by some historians. In many cases there was a careful and deliberate selection of incidents and even terminology, selections made with the intention of imparting a sophisticated programme of ideas to a carefully chosen audience. Accounts of contemporary rulers of the Empire served a variety of purposes in late-medieval France, the majority of them defined by specifically French interests. Similar may be said of depictions of Charlemagne, although interest in the Carolingian emperor has, it will be suggested, often been misinterpreted by historians who have believed that he was perceived as offering some form of 'imperial' programme to the rulers of France based on the recovery of lost rights. What is most striking, however, is that the portrait of the Empire and its ruler that emerges differs profoundly from the widely accepted historical model. On one level the Empire and its ruler were considered to differ very little from the French kingdom and its king. Yet,

far from abandoning the concept of universal temporal authority, many of the inhabitants of France, even those closely connected with the Capetian-Valois kings, perhaps even those kings themselves, also considered the emperor to fulfil a supra-regnal role necessary in a properly ordered Christian society.

French conceptions of the emperor's role evolved as a direct result of two factors: the first of these was the absence of an effective German ruler after 1250, one able to give definition to the role of the western emperor. In the absence of such a figure the role of 'emperor' remained an amorphous one which contemporaries could subconsciously shape to fit changed circumstances. The second factor was the growing importance of Louis IX's legacy under his son and grandson. Before Saint Louis, the crusade was something which a pious French king might choose to participate in; after Louis the prosecution of the crusade became a defining feature of French kingship. Yet, with the exception of the war in the Languedoc and Charles d'Anjou's Sicilian venture, the thirteenth-century was largely a catalogue of failure for French crusaders. How, then, should the Holy Land be maintained, and after 1291, how could it be recovered? It is the suggestion of this book that one of the key answers to this question came to be seen in France as the acquisition of the imperial office. In the absence of an emperor on the European stage, the imperial office was increasingly conceived of by the inhabitants of late-medieval France in terms of the leadership of the crusade. To become emperor was to obtain a supra-regnal authority that enabled the incumbent to exercise an authority over Christian knighthood that no king, not even the king of France, could exercise. It became increasingly clear to the inhabitants of France and their kings that it was this authority that must be obtained if the Capetian-Valois dynasty was to fulfil the duty which had been imposed upon it by Saint Louis.

FREDERICK II — THE CONSPICUOUS EMPEROR

Prior to the reign of Philippe IV one of very few events that the Benedictines of Saint-Étienne, Caen, took the trouble to record in their Easter Tables was the dispute that took place between the last Hohenstaufen emperor and Pope Innocent IV.¹ The interest in Frederick II displayed by these Norman monks was not unusual: Frederick's dispute with the papacy was often one of very few non-local, and indeed non-ecclesiastical, events deemed worthy of inclusion by many French chroniclers in their accounts. The Emperor's deposition in 1245 seems, in particular, to have been considered an event worthy of recording whether the writer lived in Normandy, the Île-de-France, or the Limousin. Indeed it was often the only event recorded in relation to Frederick² or one of very few.³ The passing of time did little to dampen interest: Géraud de Frachet, writing at Limoges, included an account of

¹ *Ex Chronico sancti Stephani Cadomensis*, ed. by N. de Wailly, L. Delisle and C.-M.-G. B. Jourdain, in *RHGF*, xxiii, 491–93 (p. 492). The original text concluded in 1143; entries were continued in various hands up to 1336: L. Delisle, 'Annales de Rouen et textes qui en dérivent', *HLF*, 32 (1898), 194–205 (pp. 200–01).

² For example: *E Chronico Fiscannensis coenobii*, ed. by N. de Wailly, L. Delisle and C.-M.-G. Jourdain, in *RHGF*, xxiii, 429–30 (p. 430); Second Continuation of André de Marchiennes, *Ex Andreae Marchianensis Historia regum Francorum*, ed. by G. Waitz, *MGH SS*, 26, p. 215; *Anonymum S. Martialis Chronicon ab anno M. CC. VII. ad ann. M. CCC. XX.*, in *Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, ed. by H. Duplès-Agier (Paris: Société d'Histoire de France, 1874), pp. 130–48 (p. 131); *E Chronico monasterii Sancti Taurini Ebroicensis*, ed. by N. de Wailly, L. Delisle and C.-M.-G. B. Jourdain, in *RHGF*, xxiii, 465–67 (p. 466).

³ For example: *E Chronicis Lirensis monasterii*, ed. by N. de Wailly, L. Delisle and C.-M.-G. Jourdain in *RHGF*, xxiii, 468–70 (p. 469); *Abbreviatione Historiae Figuratis*, p. 215; *E Chronico Rotomagensi*, ed. by N. de Wailly, L. Delisle and C.-M.-G. Jourdain, in *RHGF*, xxiii, 331–43 (p. 338).

Frederick's deposition in the second recension of his universal history completed in the late 1260s,⁴ as did Jean de Saint-Victor, compiling his *Memoriale historiarum* in Paris at the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁵ Landolpho of Colonna, a canon of Chartres, included a similar note when writing in the 1320s,⁶ as did the compilers of the *Grandes Chroniques* prepared at the abbey of Saint-Denis in the mid-1340s.⁷

With the exception of those studying Provence,⁸ Frederick has not proved of similar interest to historians of medieval France.⁹ This is, at least in part,

⁴ *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 4. Originating in the minor nobility of Limoges, Géraud was prior of the Dominican convents of Limoges, Marseille, and Montpellier, and of the province of Provence (1251-59). For a summary of his career: Rech, 'Géraud de Frachet', pp. 422-25. The first recension of his universal history, ending in 1199, was written between 1245 and 1248, the second between 1248 and 1268: Rech, 'Géraud de Frachet', pp. 426, 427, 429. Two manuscripts of the first remain extant; ten offer a text up to 1266; thirteen a version continued to 1268, 1271 or 1273. Of these twenty-five manuscripts, nineteen date from prior to 1340: Rech, *Géraud de Frachet: L'Engagement d'un historien au XIII^e siècle*, pp. 146-47.

⁵ Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 622.

⁶ *E Breviario historiarum Landulphi de Columna, canonici Carnotensis, et anonyma ejusdem chronici continuatione*, ed. by N. de Wailly, L. Delisle and C.-M.-G. Jourdain, in *RHGF*, xxiii, 192-98 (p. 195). Despite his Italian origins, Landolpho ought to be included in a discussion of the French cultural milieu. His historical account, written 1324-28, was prepared during the time he spent as a canon at Chartres: W. Braxton Ross, 'Giovanni Colonna, Historian at Avignon', *Speculum*, 45 (1970), 533-63 (p. 538). Concerning Landolpho's use of the library at Chartres: Guenée, *Histoire et culture*, p. 292.

⁷ *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 110.

⁸ For example: Aurell. See also J. Chiffolleau, 'Les gibelins du royaume d'Arles. Notes sur les réalités impériales en Provence dans les deux premiers tiers du XIII^e siècle', in *Papauté, monachisme et théories politiques, II: Les églises locales. Études d'histoires médiévales offertes à Marcel Pacaut*, ed. by P. Guichard and others, 2 vols (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1994), II, 669-95.

⁹ A recent and thought-provoking article by Jacques Chiffolleau which highlights some of the similarities in the worldviews held by Saint Louis and Frederick is a welcome addition: J. Chiffolleau, 'Saint Louis, Frédéric II et les constructions institutionnelles du XIII^e siècle', *Médiévales*, 34 (1998), 13-23. As Jean-Marie Martin recently noted, however, Frederick 'n'est pas une personnalité familière au public français: sa figure est éclipsée par celle de son contemporain Saint Louis', J.-M. Martin, 'Quelques réflexions sur Frédéric II et la France', in *Frédéric II (1194-1250) et l'héritage normand de Sicile*, ed. by A.-M. Flambard Héricher, Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle, 25-28 septembre 1997 (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2000), pp. 29-49 (p. 29). The fact that it was not until 1987 that Ernst Kantorowicz's classic biography, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* (Berlin:

because political history remains distinctly unfashionable in France. Yet the Emperor's continuing neglect is probably due primarily to the fact that Frederick's relations with Philippe Auguste, Louis VIII and Louis IX are simply not considered to be particularly controversial.¹⁰ On the whole there is common agreement that Capetian-Staufer relations were warm following Frederick's accession, in the wake of which a series of alliances were concluded.¹¹ They remained so until the Emperor's marriage to Isabella of England (1235)¹² and Frederick's efforts to establish the Count of Toulouse,

Bondi, 1931), appeared in French translation (E. Kantorowicz, *L'Empereur Frédéric II*, trans. by A. Kohn (Paris: Gallimard, 1987)) is a clear reminder of how little interest Frederick has generated in France. Nevertheless, Martin does underestimate the number of francophone studies relating to Frederick: while noting, rightly, that more work might be done by French historians in relation to Frederick's activities in the kingdom of Arles (Martin, 'Quelques réflexions', pp. 42–45) he overlooks both the article by Chiffolleau referenced in the preceding note and Paul Fournier's classic study *Le royaume d'Arles et de Vienne (1138–1378). Étude sur la formation territoriale de la France dans l'est et le sud-est* (Paris: Picard, 1891).

¹⁰ It is notable that the only major conference to be held in France concerned with Frederick II (that held at Cerisy-la-Salle in 1997) did not explore his relations with French kings. The major studies remain: J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, 'Relations diplomatiques de Frédéric II avec les rois de France', in *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, introduction, pp. cclxxxvii–cccxxiii, which, as its author noted (pp. cccxxii–cccxxiii), largely follows Le Nain de Tillemont, *La Vie de Saint Louis, roi de France*, ed. by J. de Gaule, 6 vols (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1847–51); W. Kienast, *Deutschland und Frankreich in der Kaiserzeit (900–1270), Weltkaiser und Einzelkönige*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1974–75), III, 585–650. Björn Weiler's recent re-examination of Capetian-Staufer relations in the course of exploring the Plantagenet-Staufer relationship is now the most comprehensive account available in English: B. Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufan Empire, 1216–1272*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History, new series (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006). For a reconsideration, in particular, of the 1224–25 negotiations which raised the possibility of a Capetian-Staufer marriage: B. Weiler, 'Henry III's Plans for a German Marriage (1225) and their Context', in *Thirteenth Century England VII Proceedings of the Durham Conference 1997*, ed. by M. C. Prestwich, R. Britnell, and R. Frame (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 173–88.

¹¹ MGH Constitutiones, 2, ed. by L. Weiland (Hannover: Hahn, 1896), no. 44, p. 55 (19 November 1212, Toul); no. 99, p. 125 (November 1223, Catania); no. 290, p. 405 (11 June 1226, Trent); no. 174, p. 215 (May 1232, apud Pordenone); no. 313, pp. 424–25 (29 June 1232, apud Eger).

¹² Concerning the English marriage: Kienast, III, 602–03; J. P. Huffman, *The Social Politics of Medieval Diplomacy: Anglo-German Relations (1066–1307)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), pp. 246–59. Dr Weiler, highlighting the important

Raymond VII, as an effective counterbalance to Louis's father-in-law, Raymond-Berengar IV, Count of Provence,¹³ led to a gradual loss of cordiality. The decline rapidly worsened when Frederick imprisoned a group of French prelates in 1241.¹⁴ The 1240s saw a rapid improvement in relations when Frederick's attempts to secure French mediation in his dispute with Innocent coincided with Louis IX's hopes of enlisting the Emperor's logistical support in his planned crusade.¹⁵ Only a tendency amongst historians to judge Louis IX's actions in the light of his later reputation for saintliness, an approach which has given rise to the views that the French king pursued either a consistent policy of strict neutrality in the various papal-imperial disputes or a policy of neutrality that tacitly came to favour Innocent IV,¹⁶ may be considered questionable. From 1244 it seems probable that Louis's crusading interests led him to seek to pressure the Pope into coming to terms with Frederick. In 1250, while still in the Holy Land, Louis may even have taken the extraordinary step of despatching his brothers to Lyon in order to attempt to force Innocent to come to terms with the Emperor.¹⁷

Whether a work addressed Frederick or not depended upon the purpose for which it was written. There are therefore a number of works concerned with

role played by Pope Gregory IX in the marriage negotiations, provides a particularly useful analysis of the Emperor's decision to embark on a policy that would, at the very least, disturb his old Capetian allies: Weiler, *Henry III*, pp. 60–67.

¹³ Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, pp. 138–45; C. Keck, *Die Provence in der späten Stauferzeit. Das Land an der Rhone im Spannungsfeld von gräflicher Territorialpolitik, Reichspolitik Friedrichs II. und französischer sowie päpstlicher Einflußnahme* (Aachen: Shaker, 1996), pp. 126–35.

¹⁴ M. W. Labarge, *Saint Louis: The Life of Louis IX of France* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968), p. 85; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 164; W. Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, 2 vols (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992–2000), II, 508.

¹⁵ Kienast, III, 631–38.

¹⁶ For examples of such views: E. Berger, *Saint Louis et Innocent IV. Étude sur les rapports de la France et du Saint-Siège* (Paris: Thorin, 1893; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1974), p. 2; Kantorowicz, *Friedrich*, p. 520; R. Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation (987–1328)*, trans. by L. Butler and R. Adam (London: Macmillan, 1960), p. 33; Labarge, p. 84; Kienast, III, 609–13, 631–38; W. C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 27, 30; Richard, *Louis*, p. 185; Sivéry, *Blanche de Castille*, p. 182; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 117, 163.

¹⁷ A suggestion made by the English chronicler, Matthew Paris: *Chronica majora*, v, 174–75, 188. Berger, *Louis et Innocent*, p. 358; Kienast, III, 632.

Louis IX's reign which make no reference to the Emperor, such as the hagiographies of Geoffroi de Beaulieu,¹⁸ Guillaume de Chartres¹⁹ and Guillaume de Saint-Pathus.²⁰ Yet the number of historical and other works which did remark upon the last Hohenstaufen emperor, and particularly upon his deposition, remains striking. Given the prominence accorded to Frederick, establishing an understanding of the factors that determined and influenced how he was perceived is a useful and necessary first step in establishing the place of the western Empire and its ruler in northern French thought.

The recent work of Mireille Chazan and Andrea Sommerlechner represents the first attempts to analyze northern French attitudes towards Frederick. Dr Chazan's study is, as I noted in the introduction, limited to four universal histories. In contrast, Dr Sommerlechner's analysis is problematic not because it is consciously limited, but because of its approach to the sources examined. The chronicle of Guillaume de Puylaurens, sometime chaplain to Raymond VII of Toulouse,²¹ should, for example, be considered an exceptional case. Guillaume's work was one of very few non-Dominican works produced in the Languedoc to circulate north of the Loire. Even in the south it does not appear to have enjoyed widespread circulation²² and in the north it did so only in the form of excerpts incorporated by the Dominican Bernard Gui into his own accounts. Consequently, Guillaume's outlook should not necessarily be accorded the same weight as the views of other, more widely read, writers,²³ and his work should

¹⁸ *Vita Ludovici noni, auctore Gaufrido de Belloloco, Vita et sancta conversatio piaie memoriae Ludovici quondam regis Francorum*, ed. by P. C. F. Daunou and J. Naudet, in *RHGF*, xx, 1–27.

¹⁹ *De vita et actibus inclitae recordationis regis Francorum Ludovici et de miraculis quae ad ejus sanctitatis declarationem contigerunt, auctore fratre Guillelmo Carnotensi, ordinis praedicatorum, ejusdem regis capellano*, ed. by P. C. F. Daunou and J. Naudet, in *RHGF*, xx, 27–44 (pp. 27–41).

²⁰ *Vie de saint Louis par Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, confesseur de la reine Marguerite*, ed. by H.-F. Delaborde (Paris: Picard, 1899).

²¹ For Guillaume's life: *Guillaume de Puylaurens. Chronique 1145-1275. Chronica Magistri Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii*, ed. and trans. by J. Duvernoy (Toulouse: Pérégrinateur, 1996), pp. 7–11.

²² One near contemporary manuscript remains extant. This was copied in Toulouse between 1300 and 1330 and had entered a Dominican library by the early-fifteenth century: *Guillaume de Puylaurens. Chronique 1145-1275*, pp. 15–16.

²³ Compare with Sommerlechner, p. 115, where no distinction is drawn between Guillaume and other 'French' sources.

not automatically be considered representative of attitudes in the Languedoc, where the medium of Latin chronicle history appears itself to have enjoyed a less important role than it did in the north. More fundamentally, the methodology adopted by Dr Sommerlechner results in perspectives unique to northern France, and indeed to other cultural regions, becoming largely submerged within a wider pan-European portrait.²⁴ German and Italian perspectives mark the character of this portrait and determine the agenda and depth in which topics are explored. The consequence of this is that there is, for example, no highlighting, and consequently no explanation of, the frequency with which certain aspects of Frederick's reign, such as his deposition, appear in French sources.²⁵ In fact, in the years prior to the death of Louis IX, it is possible to distinguish two distinct approaches to Frederick in northern France, one adopted predominantly by churchmen and the other by lay authors.

A Clerical Perspective

The chronicle of the Norman monastery of Lire illustrates a position which appears common to many French clerics prior to 1270. Written most probably in the 1250s, the writer took a particular interest in an aspect of Frederick's reign which had had local repercussions, that is his 1241 imprisonment of the prelates travelling to Rome.²⁶ The only other comments concerned the Emperor's deposition and his death. While the chronicler did make the unusual, and indeed, north of the Loire, unique, suggestion that the Emperor attempted to make amends for his misdeeds on his deathbed,²⁷ he summed up

²⁴ Sommerlechner addressed French material in isolation only in her brief discussion of *Landesgeschichtsschreibung*. This category encompasses a wide range of works not classed as annals, encyclopaedias or universal histories: *ibid.*, pp. 112–16.

²⁵ Sommerlechner's discussion of Frederick's deposition is limited to five French sources: Géraud de Frachet, Guillaume de Nangis, Vincent de Beauvais, the Norman chronicle and Guillaume de Puylaurens: *ibid.*, pp. 193–202.

²⁶ *E Chronicis Lirensis monasterii*, p. 468. The Archbishop of Rouen and the Abbot of Fécamp are named amongst the captives. Three versions of this Benedictine chronicle exist, two of which contain nothing relevant to the Empire. A third, from 814 to 1249, preserved in an eighteenth-century collection, is the source for the material discussed here: *E Chronicis Lirensis monasterii*, p. 468; V. LeClerc, 'Chron[ique] de l'abbaye de Lire', *HLF*, 21 (1847), 705.

²⁷ *E Chronicis Lirensis monasterii*, p. 469.

Frederick's death with the comment that it occurred after: 'multas injurias illatas et damna ecclesiae et religioni facta'.²⁸ While hardly a positive portrait of the Emperor's reign, yet neither was it an outright condemnation.

The short history of the Latin Empire of Constantinople written by Gautier Cornut, Archbishop of Sens (1222–41), focused upon the transfer of the crown of thorns to France, but touched upon the Emperor in passing. Archbishop Cornut noted the assistance and counsel Frederick offered to those charged with conveying the relics to France in positive terms.²⁹ Nevertheless, his portrait of Frederick, written prior to the Emperor's deposition, was atypical. An account of Frederick similar to that produced at Lire appeared in the Norman Chronicle. Here, in addition to the capture of the prelates, again of local interest, only the initial outbreak of strife between Frederick and the Church and the deposition itself held the chronicler's attention.³⁰ Another account, the annals of Saint-Médard of Soissons, written in the 1250s, possibly by the prior of the abbey, Gobert de Coinci,³¹ tended towards condemning the Emperor.

In the case of the imperial crusade,³² about which the annalist of Saint-Médard was particularly well informed, the Emperor's recovery of Jerusalem was acknowledged, as was that of the surrounding towns and even the securing of the access roads. Frederick's establishment of a ten-year truce with the Saracens was also recorded, along with his crown-wearing in the Holy Sepulchre. The annalist noted, however, that all this was achieved through dialogue with the 'pagans' and

²⁸ *E Chronicis Lirensis monasterii*, p. 469.

²⁹ *Opusculum Galteri Cornuti, archiepiscopi Senonensis, de susceptione Coronae spineae Jesu Christi*, ed. by N. de Wailly and L. Delisle, in *RHGF*, xxii, 26–32 (p. 30). The work was written between August 1239 — the month in which the passion relics arrived in Sens (Richard, *Louis*, pp. 150–51) — and Gautier's death in 1241.

³⁰ *E Chronico Normanniae ab anno 1169 ad annum 1259 sive potius 1272*, ed. by N. de Wailly, L. Delisle, and C.-M.-G. B. Jourdain, in *RHGF*, xxiii, 212–22 (p. 213). The Archbishop of Rouen and the Abbot of Fécamp are named amongst the captives.

³¹ Gobert's work probably represents the section of the annals from the birth of Christ up until 1241. This was followed by a supplement which concluded in 1261 and which also added some material pre-dating 1241: L. Delisle, 'Chronique ou Annales de Saint-Médard de Soissons', *HLF*, 32 (1898), 235–39.

³² For accounts of Frederick's crusade: T. C. Van Cleve, 'The Crusade of Frederick II', in *A History of the Crusades*, II: *The Later Crusades 1189–1311*, ed. by K. M. Setton, R. L. Wolff, and H. W. Hazard, 2nd edn (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 429–62; D. Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor*, new edn (London: Pimlico, 1992), pp. 164–201; Stürner, II, 130–66.

that the Emperor left the walls and city unfortified.³³ The annals highlighted that Frederick had been an excommunicate throughout his crusade and that upon his return to Sicily he acted cruelly against the Roman Church, the Templars and the Hospitallers.³⁴ A negative impression of Frederick was then confirmed by the only other event the annalist chose to record: the outbreak of the 1239 dispute with Pope Gregory IX.³⁵ By failing to note that Frederick and Gregory had quickly come to terms in 1230, the impression was given, either through intention or ignorance, that the Emperor had remained excommunicate for considerably longer than in reality was the case. The awfulness of Frederick's character was underlined by an account of his exiling and expulsion of all manner of clergy.³⁶

Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, a contemporary of the annalist of Saint-Médard,³⁷ was not as selective in the account he gave of the Emperor's reign. Although of possibly German origins, Aubri undoubtedly prepared his chronicle with a French audience in mind.³⁸ The attention Aubri paid to Frederick was in part due to the genre in which he was writing, universal history. It also reflected a greater knowledge of imperial affairs, a consequence of Aubri's geographical proximity to the Empire. This latter allowed the Cistercian author access to libraries in the imperial regions bordering the county of Champagne³⁹ and may, for example, account for his awareness of Gregory IX's offer of the imperial throne to Robert I d'Artois, an event otherwise unrecorded in northern France.⁴⁰ As the only other

³³ Although Frederick was frequently accused in the west of having left Jerusalem unfortified there is very little evidence for this particular charge: Van Cleve, 'Crusade of Frederick II', p. 455.

³⁴ *Ex Annalibus S. Medardi Sueessionensibus*, ed. by G. Waitz, MGH SS, 26, pp. 518–22 (pp. 521–22).

³⁵ 'Gregorius papa nonus Fredericum imperatorem Romanorum [. . .] per longum tempus excommunicatum anathematizat et tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus dampnat', *ibid.*, p. 522.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 522. Cf. Sommerlechner, p. 254.

³⁷ The bulk of Aubri's chronicle was written between 1227 and 1240. Minor revisions, which continued the text up to 1241, were made in 1251–52: Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 360–61.

³⁸ M. Schmidt-Chazan, 'Aubri de Trois Fontaines, un historien entre la France et l'Empire', *Annales de l'Est*, 36 (1984), 163–92 (pp. 166–67).

³⁹ Schmidt-Chazan, 'Aubri de Trois Fontaines', pp. 176–80.

⁴⁰ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. by P. Scheffer-Boichorst, MGH SS, 23, pp. 631–950 (p. 949).

sources to refer to this were Matthew Paris⁴¹ and a chronicler based in Cologne⁴² it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the story originated in the Rhineland and that it was drawn to Matthew's attention as a consequence of English trading links with the region. In spite of Dr Schmidt-Chazan's suggestion that possible German origins led Aubri to adopt a more positive approach to Frederick,⁴³ in common with the annalist of Saint-Médard, it was to the Emperor's failings as a crusader and the deterioration in his relations with the papacy that Aubri paid particular attention.

The note of scepticism introduced by Aubri's comment that Frederick may or may not actually have been suffering from a genuine illness when he chose to abandon his initial crusading expedition sets the tone for the chronicle as a whole.⁴⁴ When it came to the expedition itself, Aubri chose not to specify Frederick's achievements beyond the fact that he had made a treaty with the Sultan and worn his crown in the Holy Sepulchre. Notably absent was any statement to the effect that Frederick had actually *recovered* Jerusalem. Instead Aubri left his readers with the impression that the treaty with al-Kamil had simply guaranteed pilgrims the right to visit the city. Although he recorded that many common people welcomed Frederick's treaty because it allowed them to visit the Holy Sepulchre, this must be seen in the context of the fact that the Emperor was noted as remaining excommunicate throughout his crusade, and that his peace was made without the consent of the Patriarch, the Templars or the Hospitallers.⁴⁵

The events that immediately followed the crusade did little to enhance the Emperor's reputation. The Cistercian author restricted himself to reporting the exchange of letters between Gregory and the Patriarch of Jerusalem in which: 'multa dicebat de inhonestis moribus et infidelitate imperatoris, et quomodo vita eius parum distat a vita alicuius Sarraceni'.⁴⁶ It is certainly true that Aubri passed no comment concerning the veracity of these charges, but nor did he attempt to put the Emperor's defence. Frederick's return from Outremer did

⁴¹ *Chronica majora*, III, 624–27.

⁴² *Annales Sancti Pantaleonis Coloniensis*, ed. by H. Cardauns, MGH SS, 22 (pp. 530–47) p. 539.

⁴³ Schmidt-Chazan, 'Aubri de Trois Fontaines', pp. 189–90.

⁴⁴ '[. . .] sed subita infirmitate tactus, vel vera vel simulata [. . .]', *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 920. Cf. Schmidt-Chazan, 'Aubri de Trois Fontaines', p. 187.

⁴⁵ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 925.

⁴⁶ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 925.

not see Aubri censure Jean de Brienne's papally sponsored invasion of the *regno*,⁴⁷ but he did record Frederick's exceedingly cruel response to it.⁴⁸

In common with the chronicler of Lire, Aubri was quite capable of incorporating incidents which might lead to a more positive interpretation of Frederick, an example being the Emperor's participation, in 1236, in the translation of the body of his recently canonized relative, St Elisabeth of Thuringia (d. 1231).⁴⁹ Yet when it came to Frederick's relations with the papacy there seems little doubt as to which party Aubri consistently considered to be unreasonable and in the wrong. Signs of a rift appeared even before the crusade: Aubri implied that Pope Honorius III's decision to hand over the administration of parts of Tuscany to Jean de Brienne was a source of grievance to the Emperor.⁵⁰ Although Aubri reported Frederick and Gregory's reconciliation, albeit only through the intervention of the Duke of Austria,⁵¹ his approach to the renewal of the dispute in 1239 was idiosyncratic: his entire account was woven around the charges brought against Frederick by the papacy. Although Aubri settled for relating only one of the seventeen charges that he informed his readers had been levelled against the Emperor, that one, culled from a papal letter to the Archbishop of Sens, was a particularly lurid tale of blasphemy. Aubri accepted this, and the many other un-stated reasons, as quite sufficient justification for the papal decision to excommunicate the Emperor.⁵² The following year Frederick, with no apparent justification, was noted to have committed innumerable evils against the Pope.⁵³

⁴⁷ Jean de Brienne, aptly described by David Abulafia as 'a tin-pot ruler from Champagne', had been formerly King of Jerusalem by right of his wife, a title Frederick had arrogated to himself after marrying Jean's daughter. Aggrieved by his subsequent treatment at the Emperor's hands Jean became involved in a series of papal schemes directed at the Staufer: Abulafia, *Frederick*, pp. 149–50, 152–53.

⁴⁸ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 925. Sommerlechner has rightly noted that Schmidt-Chazan's belief that Aubri was an admirer of Frederick and keen to exonerate him from all blame led to a degree of misleading over-interpretation: Sommerlechner, p. 26, n. 89.

⁴⁹ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 939. For the translation: Stürner, II, 323–36.

⁵⁰ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 919.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 926–27.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 944.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 948.

Although their works did not circulate widely, the position common to Aubri,⁵⁴ the chronicler of the monastery of Lire, and the annalist of Saint-Médard was that adopted by the most influential ecclesiastical work produced in the period. The Dominican Vincent de Beauvais died in 1264, leaving his *Speculum historiale*, the most popular part of a much larger work, the *Speculum maius*, extant in two recensions, one terminating in 1244 and the other in 1250.⁵⁵ Popular within Vincent's own order and with the Cistercians, fragments of the *Speculum historiale* survive in over 300 manuscripts.⁵⁶ Vincent's selection and portrayal of the events of Frederick's reign clearly indicate where his sympathies lay. The imperial crusade was noted, but Vincent displayed little interest in recording its outcome and laid heavy emphasis upon the fact that Frederick was disobedient to the Church and had undertaken this venture while under sentence of anathema.⁵⁷ His subsequent interest was in the outbreak of the dispute with Gregory in 1239 which led to the Emperor's second excommunication and resulted in the capture and imprisonment of the clerics and cardinals journeying to Rome.⁵⁸ An unrepentant Frederick was later

⁵⁴ Only two near-contemporary manuscripts of Aubri's chronicle survive; both have their provenance in the Low Countries: Schmidt-Chazan, 'Aubri de Trois Fontaines', pp. 191–92.

⁵⁵ The second recension of Vincent's historical compilation was probably completed shortly after 1254 but certainly before the second recension of the *Speculum maius* appeared in the late 1250s. For some suggestions as to why the *Speculum maius*, as a whole, was restructured: Paulmier-Foucart and Duchenne, *Vincent de Beauvais*, pp. 12–14.

⁵⁶ Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 377. For a list of 242 manuscripts containing material indicating that they were once part of non-abridged copies of the *Speculum historiale*: M.-C. Duchenne, G. Guzman, and J. Voorbij, 'Une liste des manuscrits du *Speculum historiale* de Vincent de Beauvais', *Scriptorium*, 41 (1987), 286–94 (pp. 289–94). Citations here are taken from the most well-known version of the *Speculum historiale*, that edited by the Benedictines of Saint-Vast d'Arras in 1624. It is worth bearing in mind that for contemporaries Vincent's work would have been characterized by a much less uniform format: leaving aside questions of illuminations and of which of the two recensions was employed, an individual may have had before him only excerpts from the work or one of a variety of translations.

⁵⁷ *Speculum historiale*, in *Bibliotheca mundi, seu venerabilis viri Vincentii Burgundi ex ordine Praedicatorum, episcopi Bellovacensis, Speculum quadruplex, naturale, doctrinale, morale, historiale*, ed. by the Benedictines of Saint-Vast d'Arras, 4 vols (Douai: Belleri, 1624), IV, bk xxx, chap. cxxix, p. 1277.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, bk xxx, chap. cxxxviii, p. 1280.

noted as being deposed at Lyon.⁵⁹ Here, then, was a tableau of recent history in which Frederick's struggle with the Church was again highlighted and which again painted the Emperor as disobedient and ill intentioned. The appearance of this perspective in Vincent's work raises the question of whether it was a view shared beyond ecclesiastical circles.

Vincent was the servant of three masters. His 'commissioning editors' were, as he noted in the first version of his *Libellus apologeticus*, his own order, the Dominicans.⁶⁰ He was also strongly associated with the Cistercians: Vincent spent a decade fulfilling the function of *lector* at the Cistercian abbey of Royaumont and it was the Cistercians who were to play an important part in the distribution of his work.⁶¹ It was at Royaumont, an institution founded by Blanche de Castille in 1228, that Vincent was to come into contact with his third patron, Louis IX.⁶² Vincent became a familiar of not only the King but also of the queen, Marguerite de Provence, and of Thibaud, Count of Champagne and King of Navarre.⁶³ Although his relations with the latter became somewhat strained, his relationship with Louis appears to have been a close one.⁶⁴ The King was in the habit of attending Vincent's readings at Royaumont, the Dominican wrote a book of instruction for the future Philippe III and the *Liber consolatorius pro morte amici* in 1260 when Louis's eldest son died.⁶⁵ It was to Louis that, between 1244 and 1246, Vincent addressed the first draft of his partially completed encyclopaedia with an explanatory letter.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Ibid., bk xxxi, chap. i, p. 1286.

⁶⁰ M. Paulmier-Foucart and S. Lusignan, 'Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du *Speculum Maius*', *Journal des Savants*, 1 (1990), 97–124 (p. 113); Paulmier-Foucart and Duchenne, *Vincent de Beauvais*, pp. 15–17.

⁶¹ Paulmier-Foucart and Lusignan, 'Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du *Speculum Maius*', p. 117. For a list of Cistercian manuscripts of Vincent's work: Paulmier-Foucart and Lusignan, 'Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du *Speculum Maius*', p. 119, n. 65; Paulmier-Foucart and Duchenne, *Vincent de Beauvais*, pp. 17–19.

⁶² Paulmier-Foucart and Lusignan, 'Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du *Speculum Maius*', p. 117; Paulmier-Foucart and Duchenne, *Vincent de Beauvais*, pp. 17–20.

⁶³ Paulmier-Foucart and Lusignan, 'Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du *Speculum Maius*', p. 120.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 115.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 100.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 120; M. Paulmier-Foucart, 'Les protecteurs séculiers de Vincent de Beauvais', in *Lector et compiler. Vincent de Beauvais, frère prêcheur, un intellectuel et son milieu au XIII^e siècle*, ed. by S. Lusignan, M. Paulmier-Foucart, and M.-C. Duchenne,

The nature of Louis's role in the compilation of the *Speculum historiale* remains unclear.⁶⁷ Certainly, from the late-thirteenth century the King became strongly associated with the work⁶⁸ and by the 1330s had come to be regarded as its patron.⁶⁹ While he was not responsible for its commissioning, it has long been recognized that Louis exercised a great deal of interest in Vincent's project and provided him with the means of accessing libraries he would not otherwise have had the opportunity to use.⁷⁰ Subject to much greater debate has been the question of whether the King exercised any influence over the contents of the compilation.⁷¹ Recent scholarship has made much progress in resolving this issue: it is clear that Vincent altered the second recension of his work to incorporate a number of points of importance to the Capetian dynasty.⁷² In

Actes de colloque de Royaumont des 9–10–11 juin 1995 (Grâne: CRÉAPHIS, 1997), pp. 215–31 (pp. 215–16).

⁶⁷ Richard, *Louis*, p. 432.

⁶⁸ Louis, for example, appears in an illumination incorporated into the prologue of a manuscript produced in the third quarter of the thirteenth century: Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, plate 15.

⁶⁹ A manuscript of the French translation (1333) depicted Louis as commanding the work on its first folio: L. Delisle, 'Exemplaires royaux et princiers du *Miroir Historial* (XIV siècle)', *Gazette archéologique: recueil de monuments de l'antiquité et du moyen-âge*, 11 (1886), 87–101 (p. 89); Paulmier-Foucart and Lusignan, 'Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du *Speculum Maius*', p. 122.

⁷⁰ Paulmier-Foucart and Lusignan, 'Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du *Speculum Maius*', p. 118. Paulmier-Foucart and Duchenne have suggested that 'une amitié réelle existe entre Louis IX et Vincent de Beauvais', and that it was this that gave rise to a second political encyclopaedia, that *was* commissioned by the King and eventually offered to Louis and to Thibaud of Navarre. This latter was 'le fruit d'une véritable parenté idéologique entre le frère dominicain et le roi', *Vincent de Beauvais*, pp. 17–18.

⁷¹ Le Goff concluded that the *Speculum* was undertaken 'probablement' at Louis's command and was to some extent at least under royal control: *Saint Louis*, pp. 587–92.

⁷² For a summary of the changes: Paulmier-Foucart and Lusignan, 'Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du *Speculum Maius*', pp. 120–21. Most related to four themes: the legitimacy of royal authority, princely attributes, dynastic questions, and the crusade: M.-C. Duchenne, 'Autour de 1254, une révision capétienne du *Speculum historiale*', in *Vincent de Beauvais: Intentions et réceptions d'une oeuvre encyclopédique au Moyen Âge (Actes du XIV^e Colloque de l'Institut d'études médiévales, organisé conjointement par l'Atelier Vincent de Beauvais (A.R.Te.M., Université de Nancy II) et l'Institut d'études médiévales (Université de Montréal) 27-30 avril 1988)*, ed. by S. Lusignan, M. Paulmier-Foucart, and A. Nadeau, Cahiers d'études médiévales. Cahier spécial, 4 (Paris: Vrin, 1990), pp. 141–66.

particular Vincent modified and inserted André de Marchiennes' account of Hugues Capet's succession and the *reditus regni francorum ad stirpem Caroli imperatoris* concept — the idea that, after several generations of non-Carolingian rulers, the French throne had 'returned' to the race of Charlemagne in the person of Louis VIII — into later versions of the *Speculum* and into the *De morali principis institutione*, a work prepared for Louis and Thibaud c. 1259–61. He suppressed the suggestion that Hugues was a usurper and promoted a conception of the *reditus* favourable to the Capetians.⁷³ Was it the case then that Vincent's appraisal of Frederick's reign was also tailored to reflect a view approved by the Capetians?

Vincent may have included a number of concepts favourable to Louis, but his work remained an essentially Dominican text. As he himself reminded the King, it was important that the authorities he chose to use were ones which met with the approval of his superiors.⁷⁴ The absence of any work in receipt of direct Capetian patronage and which dealt with contemporary history makes it difficult to come to any firm conclusions on this point. Yet it may be possible to see a reflection of a somewhat different approach from that adopted by Vincent, and possibly one more strongly marked by Capetian views, in the *Roman des rois* of the monk Primat (d. c. 1277).⁷⁵ The *Roman* was a history of the French kingdom translated into French from Latin histories kept at the abbey of Saint-Denis. Completed c. 1274⁷⁶ and presented to Philippe III,⁷⁷ it differed from the

⁷³ E. A. R. Brown, 'Vincent de Beauvais and the *reditus regni francorum ad stirpem Caroli imperatoris*', in *Vincent de Beauvais: Intentions et réceptions d'une oeuvre encyclopédique au Moyen-Âge* (Actes du XIV^e Colloque de l'Institut d'études médiévales, organisé conjointement par l'Atelier Vincent de Beauvais (A.R.Te.M., Université de Nancy II) et l'Institut d'études médiévales (Université de Montréal) 27-30 avril 1988), ed. by S. Lusignan, M. Paulmier-Foucart, and A. Nadeau, Cahiers d'études médiévales, Cahier spécial, 4 (Paris: Vrin, 1990), pp. 167–96 (pp. 172–83).

⁷⁴ Paulmier-Foucart and Lusignan, 'Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du *Speculum Maius*', p. 114.

⁷⁵ Concerning Primat's career: Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 89–92.

⁷⁶ Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 87.

⁷⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 782 may be the original presentation copy. It was certainly part of the royal collection by the reign of Charles V: F. Avril and J. Lafaurie, *La Librairie de Charles V*, Exposition de la Bibliothèque nationale (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1968), pp. 76–77, no. 146. For a dating of 1275–80: F. Avril, *L'Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285-1328* (Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais 17 mars–29 juin 1998) (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1998), pp. 264–65, no. 172. Cf. A. Molinier, 'Les Grandes Chroniques de France au XIII^e

Speculum historiale in that its prologue suggests that it was almost certainly commissioned directly by the French king. Given the length and complexity of the work, this king was almost certainly Louis rather than Philippe.⁷⁸

Frederick was by no means a central figure in the *Roman des rois*. It was almost certainly Louis's intention that the *Roman* should provide a strong argument in favour of French dynastic continuity. The decision to end the work with Philippe Auguste's death may even have been chosen with the *reditus* concept in mind, the aim being to conclude the work at the point at which the line of kings 'returned' to the race of Charlemagne in the person of Louis VIII, Philippe's son by the daughter of the Count of Hainaut, the latter a woman of 'Carolingian' ancestry.⁷⁹ While the work was ostensibly one of translation, Primat's originality lay in his selection of a variety of hitherto independent works, their integration into a uniform text, and the way in which he went about 'translating' them from Latin into French.⁸⁰ For the later part of Louis's grandfather's reign Primat turned to a text by Philippe Auguste's contemporary and panegyrist, Guillaume le Breton (d. c. 1225).⁸¹

Amongst the material Primat chose to include in the *Roman* was Guillaume's account of Frederick.⁸² Reflecting Frederick's status as Philippe Auguste's ally in the conflict with John of England and the Emperor Otto IV,⁸³ Guillaume le Breton's *Gesta Philippi Augusti* conveyed, overall, a positive impression of Frederick.⁸⁴ It was a portrayal which emphasized the important part played by Philippe in the imperial election, suggesting that the French king

siècle', in *Études d'histoire du Moyen Âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod* (Paris: Cerf, 1896; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1975), pp. 307–16 (p. 313).

⁷⁸ Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 88.

⁷⁹ This theme has been described as 'le noeud de son [Primat's] oeuvre', B. Guenée, 'Les *Grandes Chroniques de France*, le Roman aux roys (1274-1518)', in *Les lieux de mémoire*, II: *La Nation*, ed. by P. Nora, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), I, 189–214 (pp. 192–94).

⁸⁰ Guenée, 'Grandes Chroniques', p. 192.

⁸¹ Concerning Guillaume's life and literary output: J. W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 397–98.

⁸² *Grandes Chroniques*, VI, 294, 297, 299.

⁸³ For this system of alliances: Huffman, pp. 167–220.

⁸⁴ Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton Historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. by H.-F. Delaborde, 2 vols (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1882–85), I, 168–320 (pp. 236, 240).

had acted as Frederick's patron.⁸⁵ The impression that the Capetians were the patrons as well as the allies of the Hohenstaufen may have been widespread in northern France. A similar idea of Capetian patronage appears in an anonymous chronicle written at the end of Philippe Auguste's reign.⁸⁶ A further anonymous work, probably written prior to 1223 by a member of the household of Robert VII de Béthune,⁸⁷ a man caught somewhat in the middle of the Capetian-Plantagenet dispute,⁸⁸ noted not only Frederick's alliance with Philippe Auguste⁸⁹ but also that Frederick's uncle, Philip of Swabia, had enjoyed success against Otto IV through Philippe's support.⁹⁰ Although the structure of Primat's work meant that it did not prove necessary for him to consider the later part of Frederick's reign, it remains the case that the only work of contemporary history that can be directly linked to Louis's court presented a positive portrait of the Emperor.

Guillaume le Breton's *Gesta* found an echo beyond Saint-Denis. In fact his comments concerning Philippe's role in Frederick's election were incorporated

⁸⁵ Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, p. 239.

⁸⁶ 'et fu l'enfes de Puille coronés a grant joie a Ais, par l'aie le roy Phelippe de France', 'Fragment de l'Histoire de Philippe Auguste roy de France. Chronique en français des années 1214–1216', ed. by C. Petit-Dutaillis, *BEC*, 87 (1926), 98–141 (p. 124). Concerning this chronicle, which Petit-Dutaillis believed may have been written by Michel de Harnes (1189?–1231), a knight and supporter of Philippe Auguste: 'Fragment de l'Histoire de Philippe Auguste' pp. 98–109. Frederick is never referred to by name in this account but always by the description the 'child of Apulia'. Philippe's 'patronage' was also noted by a continuator of Robert de Saint-Michel and an annalist in Rouen: Sommerlechner, pp. 20, 184.

⁸⁷ Concerning the author of this chronicle and his relationship with Robert: G. M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 225–29.

⁸⁸ Robert's patronage of historical works seems to have reflected this. His anonymous minstrel prepared not only a *Chronique française des rois de France*, with its focus on Capetian history, but also an earlier *Histoire des ducs de Normandie et des rois d'Angleterre*, focused on their Plantagenet rivals. What unites the two works is, as Spiegel notes, their highlighting of the 'intermediary and mediating role' of the Flemish: Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, pp. 229–36. Also: G. M. Spiegel, 'Les débuts français de l'historiographie royale: quelques aspects inattendus', in *Saint-Denis et la Royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. by F. Autrand, C. Gauvard, and J.-M. Moeglin (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), pp. 395–404 (pp. 397–99).

⁸⁹ *Extrait d'une chronique française des rois de France, par un anonyme de Béthune*, ed. by L. Delisle, in *RHGF*, xxiv, 750–75 (p. 763).

⁹⁰ *Extrait d'une chronique française des rois de France, par un anonyme de Béthune*, p. 759.

in Vincent's *Speculum historiale*,⁹¹ and, beyond the Île-de-France, employed in conjunction with other elements of his account by Aubri de Trois-Fontaines.⁹² Guillaume's notably different depiction of the Hohenstaufen prince is largely attributable to the fact that his account was written in Louis VIII's reign (1223–26), that is before the decline in papal-imperial relations that took place after the election of Pope Gregory IX. Guillaume's positive emphasis was, however, largely submerged in later works. For Vincent, Aubri, and other ecclesiastical writers, the principal interest in Frederick's reign lay in the decline in his relations with the papacy. This focus, and a certain sympathy for the papal position, almost certainly sprang from the fact that these authors were themselves clerics and naturally inclined to support the spiritual power in a dispute with the secular. At least one writer in the Île-de-France, a French continuator of William of Tyre's chronicle, seems not only to have sympathized with the papacy but to have actively undertaken Innocent IV's defence.

Hero or Villain?

For the anonymous author⁹³ of a popular continuation of the Archbishop of Tyre's chronicle for the years 1229 to 1261, prepared at Soissons and circulating, essentially, in the Île-de-France, Flanders and northern France,⁹⁴

⁹¹ *Speculum historiale*, bk xxx, chap. i, p. 1237.

⁹² *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, pp. 890, 893, 896.

⁹³ One suggested author is the poet Philippe de Nanteuil but this seems unlikely: A. A. Beugnot, *RHC, Occ.*, II, ix.

⁹⁴ Those seeking a continuation of the vernacular version of William's chronicle for the years after 1229 were faced with a choice of two. One continuation remained, in the thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, essentially of interest to those in the Latin East: of the ten extant manuscripts, six were copied in the east, two in late-thirteenth-century Lombardy and Rome, and two in fifteenth-century Flanders and northern France. The second, the Soissons continuation, edited in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades* under the title *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin*, ed. by A. A. Beugnot, *RHC, Occ.*, II, 485–639, all of whose twelve extant manuscripts come from the northern French milieu, was undoubtedly the continuation of choice in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century France. For the untangling of a complex manuscript tradition that was unclear to the *RHC* editor: M. R. Morgan, 'The Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre', in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. by B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail (Jerusalem: Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982), pp. 244–57. Cf. *Continuation de Guillaume*

Innocent IV was *I. vaillant home*.⁹⁵ Frederick's position, in contrast, is evident from one of the continuator's chapter titles: *De la mauvaistié Fedric l'empereur de Alemaingne*.⁹⁶ In fact, the continuation opens its very first chapter by blaming Frederick for having failed to rebuild the defences of Jerusalem.⁹⁷ Of the two prominent appearances by the Emperor, the first concerned Frederick's crusade and the second his deposition. The inclusion of the first of these appears a natural topic for a continuation of the history of Outremer. However, in a chapter which began with a lengthy preamble summing up the terrible evils inflicted by the Saracens on the kingdom of Jerusalem, the continuator, rather than offering any account of the imperial crusade, contented himself by summing up the venture in a brief note of Frederick's treaty with the Sultan. This treaty allowed the Saracens to continue having their *Mahommeries* in the Holy Sepulchre. Frederick did nothing to restore the churches of the Holy Land nor did he rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.⁹⁸ On the contrary, argued the continuator, his relations with the Saracens were so good and he honoured them so much that the Pope and other Christians were suspicious that he might actually become a Muslim. Worse still, many said that Frederick simply believed in nothing at all,⁹⁹ and his friendship with the Saracens led him to try later to prevent a French crusade led by Thibaud, Count of Champagne.¹⁰⁰

The other events of Frederick's reign were dealt with in the context of the chapter devoted to his deposition. This opened with a note of the Emperor's excommunication by Gregory IX and the comment that he had aggrieved not only the Pope, but clergy of all kinds and those who supported them

de Tyr, ix–x. Although the Soissons version was undoubtedly the most popular, one early-fourteenth-century compiler in the Île-de-France does appear to have had access to both continuations and used the Acre version up to 1248 before switching to the Soissons version: Morgan, 'The Rothelin Continuation', pp. 252–53. For an exploration of earlier continuations down to 1232: M. R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 20.

⁹⁵ *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, chap. xxxvii, p. 559.

⁹⁶ Title for chap. xix, *ibid.*, p. 485. The editor indicates that the titles given in the *table des matières* are contemporary.

⁹⁷ 'En grant peril lessa Fedric les Crestienz en la Sainte Terre de Jherusalem; car ele estoit toute desclouse senz fermeté [...] Fedric li emperierez ne si baillif ne metoient nul conseil par quoi ele fust refermée.', *ibid.*, chap. i, p. 489.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. xix, pp. 525–26.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 526.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. xx, p. 528. Sommerlechner, p. 301.

everywhere. It went on to offer a lengthy list of Frederick's many crimes: these included the financial exactions he placed upon the clergy, the persecution and imprisonment of the latter, particularly the Franciscans, theft from the Church, the breaking of oaths to the Church, the marriage of his daughter to the Greek emperor, an excommunicate, and the sending of Christian women to the sultan and other miscreants. Not only did Frederick capture and imprison, *villainnement et cruelment*, clergy and even cardinals on their way to attend Gregory's council, he was wholly responsible for the present state of the Holy Land.¹⁰¹ Frederick's appearance in the continuator's account was then, in essence, simply an extended catalogue of crimes against the Church.

The denunciation of Frederick's achievements as a crusader sprang from the fact that the continuator's prime objective was to portray the event with which he was principally concerned, the barons's crusade led by Thibaud de Champagne,¹⁰² in the best possible light. The reason for the ferocity with which Frederick's character and actions were attacked, however, almost certainly has its origins in a further factor. It is, perhaps, no coincidence that this violent condemnation came in a work written in the vernacular. It was the aristocracy that fostered a growth in historical material written in French,¹⁰³ and it seems probable that whereas ecclesiastical authors were inclined to acquiesce to the papal view of the conflict with Frederick, the same could not necessarily be said of the laity and of the nobility in particular. It seems reasonable to suggest that the continuator's approach was dictated by a very real need to justify Innocent's actions to a somewhat sceptical, possibly even hostile, audience.¹⁰⁴ Such an interpretation is supported by the positive portrait of Frederick that emerged in another work intended for the laity, the *Récits* of the minstrel of Reims.

¹⁰¹ *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, chap. xxxvii, pp. 556–60.

¹⁰² For this expedition: S. Painter, 'The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, 1239–41', in *A History of the Crusades*, II: *The Later Crusades 1189–1311*, ed. by K. M. Setton, R. L. Wolff, and H. W. Hazard, 2nd edn (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 463–86; Richard, *Louis*, pp. 166–70.

¹⁰³ Spiegel, 'Social change', pp. 129–48.

¹⁰⁴ The important relationship between the northern French context and this work of essentially French provenance is obscured in Sommerlechner's study, where all vernacular continuations of William of Tyre's chronicle are considered in the context of *Landesgeschichtsschreibung* relating to Outremer: Sommerlechner, p. 101.

Like many of his northern French contemporaries the minstrel of Reims's primary interest did not lie in imperial history. His *Récits*,¹⁰⁵ written in the 1260s,¹⁰⁶ focused upon events in the French kingdom and the Holy Land.¹⁰⁷ Despite this, and the absence of any reference to the imperial crusade, Frederick dominated chapters twenty-two and twenty-three.¹⁰⁸ Like contemporary ecclesiastical accounts, the *Récits* were selective in depicting the events of Frederick's reign and did not continue to record them much beyond the first council of Lyon (1245). In the minstrel's case it was Frederick's dispute with the Milanese that formed the focus.¹⁰⁹ The Emperor was portrayed not as a man who persecuted the Church, but as a man persecuted by the Church, and a ruler betrayed by the Pope in particular. The minstrel explicitly pinpointed the excommunication of the Milanese by their bishop as the point at which the Emperor's fortunes changed, up until which:

[...] furent lonc tans bien ensemble entre lui et la pape, et mout obeïssoit à l'eglise de Rome, et estoit bons jousticiers; et tant faisoit que il estoit cremuz et redouteiz par toutes terres; et pouoit on porter son gourle plein de deniers sour son bourdon à son col que jà n'eust on garde.¹¹⁰

For the minstrel, the problems that ensued could be blamed wholly upon Gregory IX. When a dispute resulted in the murder of a cardinal by a Milanese mob, Frederick had arranged to besiege Milan at papal request. The Emperor agreed to act on the condition, quickly agreed to by Gregory, that the Pope did not make a separate peace with the Milanese without first consulting him.¹¹¹ The Milanese, rapidly realising the hopelessness of their predicament, attempted to

¹⁰⁵ For the identification of this anonymous work as that of a minstrel and the connection of its author with Reims: *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, pp. v–ix.

¹⁰⁶ *Fragment d'une chronique anonyme dite chronique de Reims*, ed. by N. de Wailly and L. Delisle, in *RHGF*, xxii, 301–29 (p. 301).

¹⁰⁷ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, pp. iii–iv. Cf. Levine, whose belief that the minstrel pursued a structured tripartite programme almost certainly credits his thought with too great a coherence: *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle (Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims): A Translation and Introduction*, trans. by R. Levine, Studies in French Civilization, 4 (Lampeter: Mellen, 1990), p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxii, pp. 112–22; chap. xxiii, pp. 122–28.

¹⁰⁹ Concerning the re-emergence of the Lombard league in the 1230s: Stürner, II, 266–75, 334–41.

¹¹⁰ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxii, p. 113.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 117–18.

negotiate with the Emperor. Finding Frederick intransigent, they sought to strike a deal with Gregory, whose Lombard covetousness, according to the dialogue attributed to the Milanese by the minstrel, would be certain to win the Pope to their cause.¹¹² Sure enough, now holding the Milanese *pour bons crestiens*, Gregory ordered Frederick to raise his siege. Betrayed and angry, but threatened with excommunication, Frederick obeyed and retired to Apulia.¹¹³

The subsequent decline in relations between the Emperor and the Pope was attributed to Frederick's attempts to recover the money he had expended on the siege. This process proved so frustrating and the Pope so unwilling to compromise that the Emperor invaded the papal lands and robbed clerics. This led first to his excommunication by Gregory and eventually to his deposition by Innocent.¹¹⁴ Throughout his relation of this highly fictionalized account, the minstrel's sympathies can clearly be seen to lie with the Emperor. Gregory IX is portrayed as a fickle, rapacious, and ultimately untrustworthy pontiff; Innocent is one simply unwilling to listen or render a just decision. Piero delle Vigne, returning from negotiating with the Pope at Lyon, is said to have reported to Frederick: 'comment il estoit condamneiz à terre perdre par sentence definitive; ne riens que il proposast ne li valut rien, ne droit ne pot avoit'.¹¹⁵

Although the *Récits* began with an account of events that transpired in Outremer after the death of Godfrey de Bouillon, that is in the early-twelfth century, this robust defence of Frederick II was the first appearance of imperial history in the minstrel's account.¹¹⁶ This newfound interest finds its most probable explanation in the minstrel's intended audience, the northern French nobility. It seems probable that the minstrel was not so much interested in defending Frederick, who, in any case, did not appear as an entirely blameless figure and was criticized for not converting the Saracens, his treatment of clerics and churches, his concubines, and for impoverishing his lands,¹¹⁷ as he was in

¹¹² Ibid, p. 120.

¹¹³ Ibid., chap. xxiii, pp. 122–23.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 123–26.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 126.

¹¹⁶ Otto IV featured in an account of Bouvines but, as a consequence of the episodic rather than chronological arrangement of the *Récits*, this appeared after the sections relating to Frederick: *ibid.*, chap. xxvi–xxvii, pp. 141–52.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., chap. xxiii, p. 127. These charges are not the focus of the minstrel's account and were given as an aside, not as an explanation of the papal sentence deposing the Emperor.

using the Emperor's case to highlight papal cupidity and injustices.¹¹⁸ Such an argument would have well reflected noble hostility to papal financial exactions, an hostility very much in evidence in the mid-thirteenth century.

By fleeing to Lyon in the mid-1240s Innocent IV had escaped one problem, the 'tyrannical' Frederick, but he quickly had to confront another. Exasperated by papal financial exactions and ecclesiastical interference in areas perceived to be the province of lay jurisdiction, the French barons seem to have sought to use Innocent's proximity to their advantage. They organized a baronial league against the clergy headed by a prominent and important group of French nobles, the Duke of Burgundy and the Counts of Brittany, Angoulême, and Saint-Pol.¹¹⁹ While fulminating furiously against this league,¹²⁰ which he believed — possibly with reason — that Frederick had a hand in sustaining,¹²¹ Innocent had also to contend with the fact that Louis IX was himself displeased by the same exactions. In 1247 the Pope received at least one royal embassy complaining at these¹²² and it was even rumoured that the King himself had affixed his seal to the baronial grievances and was actively supporting the league.¹²³ Innocent had every reason to take this rumour seriously: several

¹¹⁸ This possibility is, perhaps, cause to question the traditional judgement that the minstrel's prime interest was simply to entertain by recounting French and crusade-related historical episodes. Cf. Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 377; Sommerlechner, p. 99, n. 608.

¹¹⁹ For a statement of the principles of the league: *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vi, 467–68 (November 1246). This circulated widely enough to have fallen into the hands of the English chronicler Matthew Paris: *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Historia Anglorum*, ed. by F. Madden, 3 vols (London: Longmans, 1866–69), iii, 16. For an example of adhesion to the league: *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vi, 468–69 (November 1246). Berger, *Louis et Innocent*, pp. 246–53.

¹²⁰ MGH, *Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum romanorum selectae*, ed. by G. H. Pertz and C. Rodenberg, 3 vols (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883–94), ii, no. 269, pp. 201–02 (4 January 1247, Lyon); no. 270, pp. 203–04 (4 January 1247, Lyon).

¹²¹ *Chronica maiora*, iv, 593–94. Berger, *Louis et Innocent*, pp. 248, 251. Kienast did not discuss the possibility of Frederick's involvement or the question of French baronial sympathy for Frederick: iii, 612.

¹²² *Chronica maiora*, vi, no. 60, pp. 99–112. For the authenticity of the statement Matthew Paris attributed to Louis's ambassador and the argument that its sentiments reflected those of Louis himself: G. Campbell, 'The Protest of Saint Louis', *Traditio*, 15 (1959), 405–18 (pp. 410–12). Cf. Labarge, pp. 91–92. Campbell dated this embassy to 1247, rather than Matthew's implied date of 1245: 'Protest of Saint Louis', p. 405.

¹²³ The rumour appears in a letter sent from Boniface of Savoy to Peter of Savoy and archived by Matthew Paris: *Chronica maiora*, vi, no. 69, p. 132. Berger believed it unlikely

French barons, with Louis's support, had previously, in 1235, attempted to take steps to limit ecclesiastical interference in lay affairs, actions which had drawn vigorous protest from Gregory IX.¹²⁴ Writing in French, and therefore for a lay, probably aristocratic¹²⁵ but also possibly urban,¹²⁶ audience, it was almost certainly the minstrel's intention to use Frederick's reign and deposition to highlight a theme close to the hearts of his audience: ecclesiastical abuses committed against laymen. While a defence of the Emperor was a by-product, rather than the primary purpose of the *Récits's* account, it suggests that northern French conceptions of Frederick were not necessarily as negative as those propounded by many clerical authors.

The Emperor and le petit roi?

The French rhyming chronicle of Philippe Mousket offers a further window onto lay perceptions of Frederick, albeit one that does not take into account the Emperor's deposition.¹²⁷ Ending abruptly with the author's probable death in 1243,¹²⁸ Philippe's chronicle provides the perspective of a member of a

that Louis adhered to the league but thought it probable he agreed to bring baronial grievances before the Pope: *Louis et Innocent*, pp. 248–49.

¹²⁴ Richard, *Louis*, p. 79.

¹²⁵ Guenée, *Histoire et culture*, p. 321. Cf. *Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle*, trans. by Levine, p. 3.

¹²⁶ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 377.

¹²⁷ Philippe's chronicle was first edited in its entirety as: *Chronique rimée de Philippe Mouskes*, ed. by F. A. F. T. de Reiffenberg, 3 vols (Brussels: Hayez, 1836–45), pp. 34–81. Partly because Reiffenberg's work is not the most readily available edition, and partly because the sections of the chronicle used in this study have been re-edited more recently, citations here are to excerpts in either the RHGF edition (*Fragment chronique rimée*) for lines subsequent to line 27137, or the MGH edition for earlier material (*Historia Regum Francorum*, pp. 718–821).

¹²⁸ *Fragment chronique rimée*, p. 36.

bourgeois family of Tournai.¹²⁹ Although it survives in only one manuscript,¹³⁰ the fact that it was a verse chronicle probably intended for recitation makes its influence difficult to judge: performance of the text may have provided an account of the recent and, indeed, more distant, history of the French kingdom for large numbers of not necessarily literate people. In common with several contemporary clerics, Philippe probably drew upon Guillaume le Breton for his account of the early years of Frederick's reign¹³¹ and, as he himself acknowledged, made use of the library of Saint-Denis.¹³² In common with the minstrel of Reims's *Récits*, however, Philippe's account lacked a strong inclination to portray Frederick as the party in the wrong in his dispute with the papacy.

The Emperor's initial decision to postpone his crusade in 1225 was portrayed as justified by the need to deal first with the Sicilian Saracens, in addition to which Philippe devoted much time to detailing the material aid sent to the Holy Land by the Emperor in lieu of his presence.¹³³ While Frederick's first postponement of his crusading vow was accounted for without reference to the papacy, the second was acknowledged to have annoyed Pope Honorius. Philippe offered some mitigation for this by noting the Emperor's intention of first dealing with the problems of Lombardy.¹³⁴ At the same time, Frederick was said to have ignored papal rights and acted dishonourably in his dealings with Gregory IX, actions which led the latter to call Jean de Brienne to his

¹²⁹ Philippe has been identified previously as the Bishop of Tournai (1274–82) of the same name: A. Duval, 'Chronique rimée de Philippe Mouskes', *HLF*, 19 (1838), 861–72 (pp. 861–62). This erroneous belief was convincingly refuted in the nineteenth century (summarized by the editors: *Fragment chronique rimée*, p. 36), although it persists and can be found in the catalogue of the British Library. The little work undertaken on Mousket is summarized: D. Hoeges, 'Philippe Mousquet', in *LexMA*, vi, 876. Sommerlechner appears to be the first to consider Philippe's view of contemporary history.

¹³⁰ *Historia Regum Francorum*, p. 719.

¹³¹ One possible case of Guillaume's influence is Philippe's summary of the alliance between Philippe Auguste and Frederick: *Historia Regum Francorum*, lines 20699–704, p. 747.

¹³² Duval, 'Chronique rimée', p. 862; Sommerlechner, pp. 115–16.

¹³³ *Historia Regum Francorum*, lines, 25325–50, p. 777. Philippe's figures relating to the aid sent to the Holy Land reflect the scale and terms of the promises Frederick gave in July 1225: Stürner, II, 95.

¹³⁴ *Historia Regum Francorum*, lines 27097–112, pp. 793–94.

assistance.¹³⁵ Two points in Philippe's account of this first dispute between Gregory and Frederick are particularly noteworthy. First, that it was kept at, essentially, the level of a question concerning territorial rights in the *regno* and the patrimony,¹³⁶ and, second, that the dispute remained distinct from Philippe's account of Frederick's crusade.

A subtle re-arrangement of chronology allowed Philippe to depict the papal-imperial dispute as having been settled before Frederick's crusade actually began. No mention was made of the Emperor's illness, his return to the *regno*, the subsequent excommunication, and the tumultuous disputes that ensued with the Templars, the Hospitallers, and prelates of Outremer when the Emperor finally arrived in the Holy Land; nor was there mention of the papal attempt to occupy the *regno* in Frederick's absence. Although the Emperor was said not to have remained long in the Holy Land he was noted, in neutral terms, as having established a ten-year truce with the Sultan and as having visited the Holy Sepulchre.¹³⁷ The intention of the truce, to make it possible for pilgrims to visit the Sepulchre, was highlighted.¹³⁸ The only negative comment to be found concerned the walls of Jerusalem, which remained destroyed.¹³⁹ In striking contrast to ecclesiastical writers, Philippe went to great lengths to portray Frederick as a successful crusader and to minimise the impact of the breakdown in his relations with Gregory.

Philippe demonstrated a similar tendency when he chose to minimise the impact and importance of the outbreak of a second dispute between Emperor and Pope. He produced a remarkably long list of reasons for the Emperor's excommunication,¹⁴⁰ but these are less condemnatory than they at first appear if taken in isolation. Firstly, the whole dispute is not dealt with as a separate 'episode' in the chronicle and so immediately appears less significant.¹⁴¹ It is first mentioned

¹³⁵ *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 28019–58, pp. 46–47. See in particular the comments:

Car l'emperères Flédérís,
Ki l'enfes de Pulle estoit dis,
Faissoit le pape tort et honte,

Ibid., 28023–25, p. 46.

¹³⁶ Ibid., lines 28031–35, p. 46.

¹³⁷ Ibid., lines 28059–69, p. 47.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 28063–64, p. 47. Sommerlechner, p. 295.

¹³⁹ 'Mais li mur ièrent abatu', *Fragment chronique rimée*, line 28065, p. 47.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., lines 30561–70, p. 73.

¹⁴¹ Concerning the tendency of vernacular texts, of which Philippe's is no exception, to present historical accounts using an episodic structure originating in Old French epic

in the midst of an account of the departure of the French barons on Thibaud de Champagne's crusade and is simply inserted to explain why the majority chose to depart from Marseille rather than Sicily.¹⁴² In addition, several of the charges against Frederick were seriously undermined by much of what Philippe had already recounted. Frederick was clearly depicted as diligently persecuting Saracens in several of the chronicle's 'episodes'¹⁴³ and a lengthy 'episode' was devoted to demonstrating that the deposition of the Emperor's son, Henry (VII), was justifiable. The idea that Frederick ignored safe conducts and was somehow trying to undermine the barons's crusade was shown to be nonsense as the very passage in which the papal charges were recounted ended with Henry II, Count of Bar, deciding to ignore general advice and depart from Brindisi anyway.¹⁴⁴

Philippe did note the renewal of the sentence of excommunication against Frederick, first by Celestine IV and later by Innocent, but his further comments concerning the papal-imperial dispute were restricted to noting the failed attempts made at mediation by Richard of Cornwall, the brother of the English king.¹⁴⁵ Gregory IX actually appeared in a somewhat negative light: the Pope refused to allow the elevation of Pierre Charlot (d. 1249), Philippe Auguste's bastard son, to the bishopric of Noyon, because the Capetians would not support the Pope's anti-imperial stance.¹⁴⁶ Louis IX simply refused to accept any other candidate.¹⁴⁷ Philippe's intention was clearly not to defend the papal cause; yet nor was it to show that Frederick's actions were wholly justified.

literature: Spiegel, 'Social change', pp. 139–40.

¹⁴² *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 30553–80, p. 73.

¹⁴³ *Historia Regum Francorum*, lines 23333–54, p. 767; lines 25325–31, p. 777.

¹⁴⁴ *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 30578–80, p. 73. Cf. Sommerlechner, p. 301.

¹⁴⁵ *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 30651–58, p. 74; lines 30764–67, p. 75.

¹⁴⁶
 Li papes de Roume Grigores,
 Ki n'ot cure de vaines glores,
 Toli la vesquié de Noion,
 Par ire, à monsignour Carlon,
 Pour çou que ses couzins le rois
 Ne voloit commencer desrois
 Pour lui contre l'empereour,

Ibid., lines 30709–15, p. 75.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, lines 30717–20, p. 75. Pierre was elected in 1240 but was not able to take up his office until after Gregory's death.

Frederick's position only becomes clear when it is understood in the context of Philippe's chronicle as a whole.

The proximity of Tournai to the German lands of the Empire almost certainly explains the chronicle's unusual knowledge and concentration upon contemporary affairs in Cambrai,¹⁴⁸ Liège,¹⁴⁹ and Cologne.¹⁵⁰ Proximity to the German imperial lands may also account, in part, for the attention paid to the activities of Frederick's sons, the German king Henry (VII), whose unhappy fate I will return to in a later chapter, and his half-brother Conrad.¹⁵¹ Philippe's concentration upon the Hohenstaufen arose, however, out of more than geographical factors. In particular it sprang from an interest in two themes. The first of these, the crusade, led to the devotion of large numbers of lines to the misadventures of Baudouin, the would-be emperor of Constantinople, and Jean de Brienne. It accounts, to some degree, for Philippe's interest in Frederick's activities in the East and for his summary of the state of affairs in the kingdom of Jerusalem.¹⁵² The second theme which led to comment upon Frederick's activities was curiosity concerning the escapades of the nobility of the northern part of the French kingdom and its environs.

An interest in the activities of his local nobility largely accounts for Philippe's lengthy recitations of the sieges of Milan¹⁵³ and Brescia.¹⁵⁴ He took particular care, for example, to mention the summoning of the Count of Flanders¹⁵⁵ and *François et Flamenc*¹⁵⁶ to serve in these sieges and to give an account of the activities of Baudouin III, Count of Guînes, whose participation in the imperial army is discussed in chapter seven. Philippe undoubtedly concentrated upon these events at least in part because the participation of the Flemish and northern French nobility meant that he was simply better informed about them than some of Frederick's other activities. It was a decision which almost certainly also reflected the anticipated interests of a local

¹⁴⁸ *Historia Regum Francorum*, lines 26101–32, pp. 783–84.

¹⁴⁹ *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 30493–524, pp. 72–73.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, lines 28815–30, pp. 54–55; lines 30789–813, p. 76.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, lines 30783–88, p. 76; lines 30951–58, p. 77; 31175–80, p. 80.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, lines 31157–70, p. 80.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, lines 29552–79, pp. 62–63.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, lines 30237–56, pp. 69–70.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, line 29574, p. 63.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, line 30033, p. 67.

audience, and possibly even the patronage of a local lord. Local interest did not necessarily lead Frederick to be portrayed in a good light and it was implied that he had threatened both the French and the Flemings in order to enlist their participation.¹⁵⁷ Yet one factor conditioned Philippe's view of Frederick above all others: the Emperor's relationship with the Capetians.

Philippe's perspective was one sympathetic to the Capetian dynasty.¹⁵⁸ He viewed the French, as a whole, as having been the principal champions of the Roman Church since the time of Clovis.¹⁵⁹ It was this twin outlook that led him to devote an inordinately large part of his chronicle to a depiction of Louis VIII's Albigensian Crusade. Writing before the events that would come to define Louis IX's reign, in particular his first crusade, Louis VIII's untimely death placed Philippe in something of a quandary: a child-king clearly under the thumb of his mother¹⁶⁰ and beset by internecine strife amongst his own barons was far less impressive material.¹⁶¹ As the successor to a king whose deeds had rivalled those of Dagobert and Charlemagne, *le petit roi* was something of an anticlimax.¹⁶² This undoubtedly led Philippe to pay particular attention to events beyond the French kingdom but it does not appear to have altered his attitude towards the Capetian dynasty.

Towards the end of his chronicle Philippe offered a violent denunciation of Frederick's unjust ambitions to submit the entire world to his lordship:

Qui del monde et de là entor
Voloit iestre par force sire,
Et par son avoir et par s'ire,
Et par outrage et par boufoit,

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., line 30036, p. 67.

¹⁵⁸ A point noted by his nineteenth-century editors, N. de Wailly and L. Delisle: *Fragment chronique rimée*, p. 37.

¹⁵⁹ *Historia Regum Francorum*, lines 26601–08, pp. 788–89. Lines 26609–14, p. 789 suggest that Philippe's conception of what constituted being 'French' did not extend to those south of the Loire.

¹⁶⁰ *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 28681–86, p. 53.

¹⁶¹ Amongst the various difficulties confronting Blanche on her son's accession were those involving Thibaud de Champagne, King of Navarre. For an overview: Richard, *Louis*, pp. 88–108. For an account of the sometimes comic, sometimes strained relations between the Count and the Capetians: *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 29122–95, pp. 57–58.

¹⁶² Ibid., line 27861 p. 45; for Louis VIII's extravagant eulogy: ibid., lines 27529–42, p. 41.

N'à cleric n'à lai ne portoit foit,
Ainc faisoit partot les desrois ¹⁶³

This is not isolated criticism. In earlier passages Frederick was accused of bringing the menace of the Tartars down upon Christendom,¹⁶⁴ and harangued for his treatment of the Lombards, the Romans, and the clerics captured on their way to Gregory IX's Roman council.¹⁶⁵

In the course of the siege of Avignon¹⁶⁶ Louis VIII had, according to Philippe, sent the Bishops of Beauvais and Cambrai and the Abbot of Saint-Denis to explain his actions to the Emperor.¹⁶⁷ It was implied, that Louis's decision to besiege an imperial city was in no way connected with any attempt to annex imperial territory and stemmed entirely from the King's concern with the successful prosecution of his crusade against the Albigensian heretics. Frederick, if not entirely convinced by Louis's first embassy, was reassured by, amongst others, the papal legate, and consented to the King's actions.¹⁶⁸ This was, in Philippe's opinion, a demonstration of how matters should be: *Frere li rois et l'emperere*.¹⁶⁹ The Emperor later granted, at Louis IX's request, a safe conduct for the Latin emperor Baudouin to cross Germany.¹⁷⁰ Frederick's actions, such as his taking of the cross,¹⁷¹ could be positive in themselves, but they were never more so than when they favoured a Capetian king. Frederick's actions might, on occasion, be questionable, but they were positively heinous if directed against either the Capetians or the French more generally. It was this particular lens, a Capetian one rather than a papal one, that coloured Philippe's view of Frederick.

The key to understanding Philippe's violent denunciation of Frederick at the end of his work is his belief that the Emperor had betrayed Louis by

¹⁶³ Ibid., lines 31022–27, p. 78.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., lines 30967–70, p. 78.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., lines 30989–1010, p. 78.

¹⁶⁶ For an account of the siege and the events leading up to it: G. Sivéry, *Louis VIII le lion* (Paris: Fayard, 1995), pp. 363–90.

¹⁶⁷ *Historia Regum Francorum*, lines 26093–150, pp. 783–84.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., lines 26139–72, p. 784.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., line 26161, p. 784.

¹⁷⁰ *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 30471–74, p. 72.

¹⁷¹ *Historia Regum Francorum*, lines 22795–98, p. 764.

supporting the alliance formed against the French king in 1242 and 1243¹⁷² by Raymond of Toulouse, Hugues de Lusignan, and Henry III.¹⁷³ There may have been some truth in this charge: Frederick's involvement is implied in a letter he received from Henry III.¹⁷⁴ Only after this point and in connection with these events did the chronicle direct its bile at the Emperor. Inviting significant comparison with his comments concerning the siege of Avignon, Philippe now chose to depict Frederick as a man who betrayed his brother:

Or oiés del grant traïtour,
Com il traïssoit tot entour
Li rois, ki dut iestre ses frère,
Comme de roiaume et d'empère¹⁷⁵

Philippe's ludicrous comment that Frederick was in fact responsible for the coming of the Tartars and the denunciation of his behaviour towards the Romans, Lombards, and the clergy are the 'bookends' to a passage dealing with Frederick's support for the anti-Capetian alliance.¹⁷⁶ It is equally notable that Philippe's vigorous denunciation of Frederick's ambitions was swiftly followed by a reiteration of the Emperor's support for Raymond of Toulouse.¹⁷⁷ Philippe's assessment of Frederick was conditioned, essentially, by the extent to which the Emperor could be considered to be upholding the interests of the French king. In common with the minstrel of Reims, Philippe was capable of presenting a positive portrait of Frederick but his intention was not to offer an apologetic for his actions. Whereas for the minstrel Frederick supplied a useful example of ecclesiastical abuses, for Philippe the Emperor's activities offered the opportunity to enliven his chronicle after the death of Louis VIII. Philippe did not automatically subscribe to the argument of William of Tyre's continuator, that Frederick had been a villain, but the Emperor's actions were clearly worthy of condemnation when they were directed against the interests of the Capetian dynasty.

¹⁷² For an account of the 1242/43 war: Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 149–57.

¹⁷³ *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 30851–52, p. 76; lines 30971–80, p. 78.

¹⁷⁴ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vi, 905–07 (8 January 1243, apud Bordeaux). Frederick's involvement is accepted by Richard: *Louis*, pp. 105, 114. Cf. Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 151.

¹⁷⁵ *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 30981–84, p. 78.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, lines 30971–80, p. 78.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, lines 31091–104, p. 79.

It seems improbable that Philippe Mousket's image of Frederick remained solely the preserve of its author. Philippe's choice of a rhyming format indicates that the work was intended to be read aloud and the quality of the extant copy suggests that the material enjoyed a certain echo.¹⁷⁸ At the same time the fact that the chronicle survives in only one thirteenth-century manuscript suggests that its circulation was limited, something almost certainly as attributable to the author's choice of a verse medium as to any other factor.¹⁷⁹ In contrast, the vernacular prose portraits of Frederick that appeared in the work of the continuator of William of Tyre and the *Récits* of the minstrel of Reims¹⁸⁰ became comparatively well known and remained so in the fourteenth century.

The great majority of ecclesiastical portraits of Frederick remained, like Philippe Mousket's work, limited in their circulation, even if this had not been the original intention of their authors. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, for example, had probably hoped that his universal history would become an historical handbook for the Cistercian order.¹⁸¹ The work that came to occupy this place, however, was the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais. Vincent's universal history was the 'success story' that Aubri's incomplete work so conspicuously failed to be.¹⁸² Not

¹⁷⁸ R. Morrissey, *L'Empereur à la barbe fleurie. Charlemagne dans la mythologie et l'histoire de France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), p. 126.

¹⁷⁹ Several explanations have been put forward to account for the apparent change in thirteenth-century preferences from verse to prose. Gabrielle Spiegel has suggested that the shift reflected changing aristocratic preferences: 'Social change', pp. 135–37. Gillette Labory, summarizing the various approaches to this problem, has proposed an alternative explanation, based on 'l'élévation de la culture' brought about by the development of towns and universities in the thirteenth century: G. Labory, 'Les débuts de la chronique en français (XIIe et XIIIe siècles)', in *The Medieval Chronicle III: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle Doorn/Utrecht 12–17 July 2002*, ed. by E. Kooper (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), pp. 1–26 (pp. 13–14). Labory notes another instance where the limited success of a work, Calendre's *Chronique des Empereurs de Rome* (1213–20), may have been due to the author's decision to compose his *oeuvre* in verse: Labory, 'Les débuts de la chronique en français', p. 15.

¹⁸⁰ Ten manuscripts remain extant, distributed between London (three), Paris (two), Rouen (two), Brussels (two) and Copenhagen (one), although the original distribution was almost certainly more limited: D. W. Tappan, 'The MSS of the *Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims*', *Symposium*, 25 (1971), 70–78 (p. 70). Le Goff's judgement that the work was 'très peu connue au Moyen Âge' is a relative one: *Saint Louis*, p. 377.

¹⁸¹ Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 368–69.

¹⁸² Chazan suggested a connection between Aubri's failure to complete his work and his lack of success: *L'Empire*, p. 369. I have not encountered any source that made use of Aubri.

only did the *Speculum historiale* continue to circulate widely, enjoying probably its greatest popularity around 1320,¹⁸³ but it became a key source in northern France, both to writers of history such as Géraud de Frachet, Adam de Clermont, Girard d'Auvergne, Guillaume de Nangis, Jean de Saint-Victor, and Bernard Gui,¹⁸⁴ as well as to, amongst others, the Parisian scholar, Jean Quidort.¹⁸⁵ So popular was it that in the 1330s it was translated into French at the command of Philippe VI's queen, Jeanne de Bourgogne.¹⁸⁶ This latter appears to have enjoyed considerable success and copies were to be found in the possession of both Jean II and Charles V.¹⁸⁷ In addition a separate translation circulated in Lorraine in the fourteenth century.¹⁸⁸

Yet it would be a mistake to conclude from this that Vincent's portrait of Frederick as a persecutor of the Church came to dominate the northern French cultural milieu to the exclusion of all other interpretations. Although as an independent work without continuations Primat's *Roman des rois* enjoyed a somewhat limited circulation (only three copies remain extant),¹⁸⁹ the work into which it was integrated, the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, reached a much wider readership. The image of Frederick that appeared in this latter was often as different from that painted by Vincent as it was from that originally presented in the *Roman des rois*. Primat's fellow Dionysians, and the *Grandes Chroniques* traditions which sprang from their work, provide one of the keys to Frederick's continuing significance in French thought.

¹⁸³ Duchenne, Guzman, and Voorbij, 'Une liste des manuscrits du *Speculum historiale*', p. 288.

¹⁸⁴ Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 20–21.

¹⁸⁵ Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 377.

¹⁸⁶ Lusignan, 'La réception de Vincent de Beauvais en langue d'oïl', pp. 34–45.

¹⁸⁷ Lusignan, 'La réception de Vincent de Beauvais en langue d'oïl', pp. 40–41. Delisle, 'Exemplaires royaux et princiers du *Miroir Historiale*', p. 90.

¹⁸⁸ Lusignan, 'La réception de Vincent de Beauvais en langue d'oïl', p. 42.

¹⁸⁹ London, British Library, Add. MS, 38128 and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 4 have been recently dated to after 1285, but before 1314: A. D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274–1422* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 190. Cf. Guenée, 'Grandes Chroniques', p. 195. A third copy, now in a private Swiss collection, was made in the 1320s or 1330s: Hedeman, p. 187. The early provenance of these manuscripts remains unclear.

THE EMPEROR AND THE SAINT

On 6 August 1297 Pope Boniface VIII canonized King Louis IX. The process leading up to this had been a slow, complex and, like other canonization procedures in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, a highly politicized one.¹ Begun in 1272, it had been pushed forward by Louis's brother, Charles d'Anjou,² but only brought to completion under Louis's grandson, Philippe IV.³ The transformation of *king* Louis into *saint* Louis required the acquiescence and official stamp of the ecclesiastical authorities.⁴ If it was to be significant it was equally important that the new cult acquired widespread popularity and acceptance in a world where it would have to compete with numerous, well-established cults and relatively new ones, such as that of Elisabeth of Thuringia. Some within the French cultural milieu chose to attribute an important role to Frederick II in the promotion of the cult of

¹ J. H. Denton, 'Heresy and Sanctity at the Time of Boniface VIII', in *Toleration and Repression in the Middle Ages: In Memory of Lenos Mavrommatis* (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation Institute for Byzantine Research, 2002), pp. 141–48 (pp. 145–46).

² P. E. Riant, '1282: déposition de Charles d'Anjou pour la canonisation de Saint Louis', in *Notices et documents publiés pour la Société de l'histoire de France à l'occasion de son cinquantième anniversaire* (Paris: Renouard, 1884), pp. 155–76.

³ L. Carolus-Barré, 'Les enquêtes pour la canonisation de saint Louis — de Grégoire X à Boniface VIII — et la bulle *Gloria laus*, du 11 août 1297', *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France*, 57 (1971), 19–29; L. Carolus-Barré, *Le procès de canonisation de Saint Louis (1272–1297): essai de reconstitution*, ed. by H. Platelle (Rome: École française de Rome, 1994), pp. 17–28.

⁴ The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 had endorsed Pope Alexander III's earlier efforts in the twelfth century to reserve the right to determine who could be publicly venerated as a saint to the papacy: Carolus-Barré, *Le procès de canonisation*, p. 13.

Saint Louis, a decision which was to prove an important factor in — if not the sole reason for — the continued prominence of the last Hohenstaufen emperor in late-thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century French thought.

While the mendicant orders played a significant role in defining the nature of Louis IX's sanctity,⁵ they were not the 'prime mover' in efforts to establish the King's sainthood. The transformation had both its origins and fundamental stimulus in French royal policy. This is clearest in the close connections between hagiographical works and the Capetian court. Those written prior to 1297 were composed by Dominicans who had been an intimate part of that court: Louis's confessor, Geoffroi de Beaulieu, writing between 1272 and 1275,⁶ albeit at papal request,⁷ and Louis's chaplain, Guillaume de Chartres, also writing in the 1270s.⁸ After 1297 the hagiographies of Marguerite de Provence's Franciscan confessor, Guillaume de Saint-Pathus (c. 1302-03),⁹ and of Jean de Joinville (c. late 1305-October 1309),¹⁰ were the direct products of Capetian patronage. The latter is particularly notable as it was written at the request of Philippe IV's wife and dedicated to the future Louis X.¹¹ Philippe IV was

⁵ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 328–44. For the wider context of the development of conceptions of sanctity in the thirteenth century: A. Vauchez, 'The Saint', in *Medieval Callings*, ed. by J. Le Goff, trans. by L. G. Cochrane (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 313–45 (pp. 324–28).

⁶ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 333–35.

⁷ Carolus-Barré, 'Enquêtes', p. 21.

⁸ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 335–37.

⁹ *Vie*, ed. by Delaborde pp. v–ix; *La vie et les miracles de Monseigneur Saint-Louis*, trans. by M.-C. d'Espagne (Paris: Éditions du Cèdre, 1971), pp. 8–9; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 337–44.

¹⁰ *Livre des saintes paroles*, pp. lxxvi–lxxvi. This dating revises an older tradition which considered Joinville to have written the core of his work prior to Louis's canonization, but to then have revised his text in the early-fourteenth century. For examples of this view see: Fawtier, *Capetian France*, p. 4; Labarge, p. 253. This latter idea has been resurrected recently by Caroline Smith who argues, in particular, that the weighting of Joinville's work towards the events of 1248–54 leaves it unbalanced if the original intention was to write a life of Louis IX. She suggests that the work has the air of a critique of contemporary knighthood: C. Smith, *Crusading in the Age of Joinville* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 48–58. The argument that the work is unbalanced may, perhaps, be questioned if it were accepted that Joinville's interests were primarily hagiographical rather than historical and that he believed the key to Louis's saintliness lay in his suffering as a crusader: from such a perspective a focus on the years which saw Louis defeated, captured, and imprisoned seems most appropriate.

¹¹ *Livre des saintes paroles*, § 1–2, p. 2.

particularly keen to promote his grandfather's cult in order to associate himself with and capitalize upon it.¹² His most striking efforts to foster its growth were the foundation of a Dominican convent at Poissy and a number of sister houses.¹³ The cult of Saint Louis was, however, promoted long before the King's official canonization.

One of the clearest traces of Louis's gradual transformation is to be found in historical works produced after his death. At the heart of this evolving re-imagining of Louis's life was the immensely influential Benedictine abbey of Saint-Denis. The Capetian desire to promote Louis's sanctity coincided with a period in which the historical workshops of Saint-Denis came into full bloom. In the second half of the thirteenth century this gave birth to a huge historical production, the most important part of which was attributable to two men: Primat and Guillaume de Nangis (d. c. 1300).¹⁴ Not only was the abbey fecund: it had, since Abbot Suger in the mid-twelfth century, become a centre for royal historiography.¹⁵

The work produced at Saint-Denis cannot be termed 'official' history in the sense that such a term implies that the monks operated in the capacity of royal officials or that the content was dictated directly by the court.¹⁶ Nevertheless, a number of works, most prominently Primat's *Roman des rois*, were the result of royal commissions¹⁷ and the monks themselves were clearly keen to write a

¹² E. Hallam, 'Philip the Fair and the Cult of Saint Louis', in *Religion and National Identity*, ed. by S. Mews, Studies in Church History, 18 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), pp. 201–14 (pp. 209–14), where it is suggested that the importance of Louis's cult in Philippe's religious patronage has been underestimated; E. A. R. Brown, 'The Prince is Father of the King: The Character and Childhood of Philip the Fair of France', *Medieval Studies*, 49 (1987), 282–334 (pp. 310–11) (repr. in E. A. R. Brown, *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*, Variorum Collected Studies (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1991)). For sanctity as a transmissible quality: A. Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981), pp. 209–14.

¹³ Hallam, 'Philip', pp. 205–08.

¹⁴ Concerning Guillaume's career: Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 99–100.

¹⁵ Sommerlechner, p. 112. Concerning Suger's contribution to Saint-Denis's historical output: Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 44–47. On the abbot's career more generally: M. Bur, *Suger, abbé de Saint-Denis, régent de France* (Paris: Perrin, 1991); L. M. Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (Harlow: Longman, 1998).

¹⁶ Guenée, *Histoire et culture*, pp. 339–40.

¹⁷ Guenée, *Histoire et culture*, p. 340.

history favourable to the Capetians and to associate themselves with it, principally with the intention of promoting the importance of their own abbey. In the course of the last quarter of the thirteenth century and the early fourteenth a gradual evolution in Frederick II's image took place in the works being produced by the scriptorium of Saint-Denis. The image of Frederick depicted in the abbey's works was by no means the only image of the Emperor to circulate in the northern French milieu, but its evolution is of particular importance not simply because the abbey was notable for its close links with the Capetian dynasty but because Dionysian works enjoyed a wider diffusion in northern France than all but Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*.

Saint-Denis and the Creation of an Antithesis

The essence of the Dionysian portrait of Louis IX, and hence of Frederick II, was formulated in two works. The first was Guillaume de Nangis's *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, a text which enjoyed some independent circulation¹⁸ but which swiftly became linked to Guillaume's life of Philippe III with which it continued to be copied in the fourteenth century.¹⁹ The *Gesta Ludovici* was certainly produced after 1273 (probably after 1277) and before 1285.²⁰ As this period of composition encompasses the May 1282–March 1283 papal enquiry into Louis's sanctity held at Saint-Denis itself, it may be suggested that the work was produced as evidence connected with the enquiry or at least as material designed to sway public opinion in favour of the King's canonization.²¹ As Louis's body was interred at Saint-Denis and the

¹⁸ Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 101.

¹⁹ The two lives share a common preface in two manuscripts. One is thirteenth century, and the source for the *RHGF* edition of both lives; the second is fourteenth-century: L. Delisle, 'Mémoire sur les ouvrages de Guillaume de Nangis', *Mémoires de l'Institut national de France Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 27 (1873), 287–372 (p. 295).

²⁰ As the work was originally dedicated to Philippe III it can be dated to pre-1285: Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 101, n. 213. Cf. Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 349. It seems unlikely, given the sources employed, that Guillaume began the work before 1277: C. N. Jones, 'The Role of Frederick II in the Works of Guillaume de Nangis', in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany 800–1500*, ed. by B. K. Weiler and S. MacLean, International Medieval Research, 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 273–94 (p. 277).

²¹ The possibility that Guillaume's *vita* was written with this specific purpose in mind is important because, in connection with several other points, it throws into doubt the

abbey would certainly have benefited if it were to add a new saint to its catalogue, both in terms of the money and prestige that would accompany an increase in pilgrimage to the new saint's shrine, the monks would certainly have had every motivation to wish to ensure the enquiry produced a favourable outcome.

The second work in which the Dionysians developed their portrait of Louis IX and Frederick was a universal chronicle, which, according to a continuation for the years 1301-03, Guillaume de Nangis was responsible for up until 1300.²² While a first recension of this text, largely written before 1297, remains extant in only three manuscripts,²³ a revised version,²⁴ also ending in 1300 but for which Guillaume may not have been personally responsible,²⁵ appears to have enjoyed considerable success.²⁶ Although the choice of Latin for both these works made them predominantly of interest to clerics, the abbey also sought to reach out to a lay audience. The first evidence of this was the vernacular *Roman des rois*. In the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century this was followed by a

traditional assumption that the Dionysians were consistently committed to the production of royal biographies prior to Philippe IV's reign. On the nature of Dionysian historical production in the thirteenth century: Jones, 'The Role of Frederick II', pp. 287-88.

²² Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 107.

²³ For manuscripts pertaining to the first recension: Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 107, n. 229.

²⁴ That the chronicle exists in two recensions was a point first established in 1873: Delisle, 'Mémoire [...] Guillaume de Nangis', p. 297. Géraud, who prepared what remains the standard edition of Guillaume's chronicle in 1843 (*Chronique latine*, 1, 1-326), was unaware of the distinction between recensions. Nevertheless, it is possible to isolate the two recensions in Géraud's edition. The first is represented by the variant readings which appear in Géraud's 'MS 10298-6'. This latter manuscript has since been reclassified as Paris, BnF, MS français, 5703 (the first part is in French; the second half, fol. 109-75, contains Guillaume's Latin chronicle). Despite the fact that Géraud did not recognize the distinction between recensions, his edition may still, therefore, be used to explore Guillaume's work, bearing in mind two important caveats: firstly, that the editor did not make use of all the available manuscripts of either recension and, secondly, very much in keeping with the mentality of the majority of nineteenth-century editors, Géraud chose to begin his edition at a point where his text became more 'original' (in this case, 1113) rather than, as Guillaume had begun, with the creation of the world.

²⁵ Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 107.

²⁶ The second recension is extant in seventeen manuscripts at least four of which are fourteenth-century. The provenance of many of these is obscure: at least one remained at Saint-Denis while another entered the library of the college of Navarre: Delisle, 'Mémoire [...] Guillaume de Nangis', pp. 316-22.

French translation of Guillaume's *Gesta Ludovici*, at least one copy of which was passed down through several generations of an aristocratic family.²⁷ The abbey's greatest vernacular success was, however, the *Grandes Chroniques de France*.

The *Grandes Chroniques* crystallized in a fixed form only after Charles V (1364–80) placed its redaction in the hands of his chancellor, Pierre d'Ogremont.²⁸ While the title is not an anachronism,²⁹ its application to compilations prepared prior to 1360 has the potential to be misleading. A single title implies the existence of a single text, or of a number of variant versions of, essentially, the same text. In reality, no such text existed but instead what might be best considered as a series of parallel traditions developed, not all of which were controlled by Saint-Denis, but all of which drew upon Dionysian material. That the diversity in the pre-1360 '*Grandes Chroniques*' tradition has been often overlooked stems from the fact, as Bernard Guenée noted two decades ago, that very little research has been conducted into this material.³⁰ This is a consequence of a tendency amongst historians, evident in Guenée himself, to be primarily interested in Charles V's *Grandes Chroniques* and to consider earlier material as simply 'stages' in the pre-history of a 'definitive' version, rather than as texts in their own right.

The foundation of most '*Grandes Chroniques*' was Primat's *Roman des rois*.³¹ At some point after 1314 the monks of Saint-Denis were probably responsible

²⁷ The translation is extant in three manuscripts. Paris, BnF, MS français, 4978 contains a note stating that it was the property of 'Bureau de la Rivière, chevalier'. A different hand added: 'Et après à Jehan de la Rivière, et à Jacques': Delisle, 'Mémoire [...] Guillaume de Nangis', p. 296. Bureau appears to have been a favourite of Charles V and was present at the King's death. I am grateful to Dr Klaus Oschema of the University of Bern who drew this latter point to my attention: K. Oschema, *Freundschaft und Nähe im spätmittelalterlichen Burgund. Studien zum Spannungsfeld von Emotion und Institution, Norm und Struktur*, 26 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006), p. 446.

²⁸ For consideration of the *Grandes Chroniques* tradition post-1360: Guenée, '*Grandes Chroniques*', pp. 201–08.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 189, n. 2.

³¹ Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 14561–64 (c. 1320) is an exception. This contains the *Roman* only up to the reign of Charles le Chauve. Different material was used to continue the work up to the reign of Louis IX. The manuscript also contains a version of the minstrel of Reims's chronicle. By 1373 it had entered the royal collection, although the original provenance is unclear: Hedeman, p. 203.

for a revised translation of Guillaume's *Gesta Ludovici*.³² This translation was employed to continue several copies of the *Roman des rois* prepared for the courtly milieu.³³ This translation was itself revised³⁴ between 1335 and 1340 and incorporated into a *Grandes Chroniques* prepared for Jean, Duke of Normandy (1319–64; king from 1350).³⁵ The Dionysian scriptorium then produced an extended continuation of Primat's work, one which went on to become the base for Charles V's text, and which included a fourth 'translation' of Guillaume's *Gesta*.³⁶ The latter was sandwiched between translations of another Dionysian text, the *Gesta Ludovici VIII*,³⁷ and Guillaume's *Gesta Philippi Regis Franciae, filii sanctae memoriae regis Ludovici*.³⁸ This new compilation also contained material for the period from 1285 to 1340 translated largely from the two universal chronicles that had been continued at Saint-Denis, those of Géraud de Frachet and Guillaume de Nangis.³⁹ This final

³² Compare with Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 118, n. 262, who suggests that while the earliest manuscript of this translation was undoubtedly prepared after 1314 the text itself may pre-date Louis's canonization.

³³ The text is edited in volume ten of Viard's edition of the *Grandes Chroniques*. It is extant in two pre-1350 manuscripts: Paris, BnF, MS français, 2615 (after 1314; probably 1320s); Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 682 (1320s). Guenée appears to have confused this with the first translation of the *Gesta*: 'Grandes Chroniques', p. 196. For the link between these works and the courtly milieu: Hedeman, pp. 30–31.

³⁴ The text is essentially the same as that in BnF, MS fr. 2615, but incorporates additional passages which had not been previously translated from Guillaume's Latin *vita*. These additions are edited in the footnotes of volume ten of Viard's edition.

³⁵ London, British Library, MS Royal 16 G VI. For the dating: Hedeman, p. 187. For the connection with Jean II: Guenée, 'Grandes Chroniques', p. 197.

³⁶ This version, edited in volume seven of Viard's *Grandes Chroniques*, was employed to continue the oldest copy of the *Roman des rois* in Paris, Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève, MS 782.

³⁷ British Library, MS Royal 16 G VI appears to be the earliest compilation to contain this. On the contents of the manuscript: Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 119.

³⁸ This is edited in volume eight of Viard's edition. Unlike the translation of Guillaume's *Gesta Ludovici*, there is no evidence to suggest that the translation of the *Gesta Philippi Augusti* led an existence separate from the *Grandes Chroniques* compilations.

³⁹ Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 120–22. Jean-Marie Moeglin has suggested plausibly that a chronicle written in the early 1340s at Saint-Omer by someone close to Louis de Nevers, the then Count of Flanders, provided a further important source for this version of the text: I. Guyot-Bachy and J.-M. Moeglin, 'Comment ont été continuées les *Grandes Chroniques de France* dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle', *BEC*, 163 (2005), 385–433 (pp. 399–408).

compilation may have been produced under the direction of Richard Lescot, a monk at Saint-Denis from 1329, and himself responsible for the continuation of Géraud's Latin chronicle.⁴⁰ From 1344 until the conclusion of Philippe VI's reign this compilation became a completely independent French work written contemporaneously with the events it described. It seems likely that it was begun in the early or mid-1340s and completed sometime shortly after 1350.⁴¹ By taking no account of the various French translations of the *Gesta Ludovici* and considering the *Grandes Chroniques* only in the form established in the 1340s, Andrea Sommerlechner oversimplified the Saint-Denis tradition. The relationship between the extant materials is not perhaps as straightforward as Gabrielle Spiegel suggested⁴² and must remain subject to considerable conjecture; yet at the same time it offers an important key to assessing the development and reception of images of Frederick II in northern France.

The monks of Saint-Denis sought to paint a portrait of Louis as the perfect Christian king. In doing so they faced, essentially, a two-fold difficulty: *king* Louis could appear to be both less *good* and less *unique* than was desirable. He was less unique because, while an important part of his claim to sanctity lay in his crusading activities, the crusade was by no means Louis's exclusive prerogative. Laymen associated other contemporaries with the crusade, and, as Philippe Mousket's account demonstrated, they could be impressed by the success of an expedition such as that led by Frederick II. Louis was less *good* because his relations with the Church had been undeniably strained in the period prior to his first crusade. Philippe Mousket, for example, elaborated on the death of the Bishop of Beauvais by noting that the same cleric had placed France under interdict in response to royal reprisals for the killing of a provost.⁴³ This dispute originated in Louis's claim to exercise justice in the town of Beauvais and rapidly spread to questions of ecclesiastical rights to

⁴⁰ Guenée, 'Grandes Chroniques', pp. 197–98. Cf. *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, iii.

⁴¹ *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, ii–iv, vi. Jean-Marie Moeglin has suggested recently that the section of the chronicle from 1341 to 1347 may not be as original as it has been often thought. He argues that the source for this part of the 'Richard Lescot' *Grandes Chroniques* lies in an earlier text prepared at the abbey and completed by 1347 and suggests that this previously unknown stage in the evolution of the text has been obscured by the fact it has survived only as part of a compilation prepared in the 1380s: Guyot-Bachy and J.-M. Moeglin, 'Comment ont été continuées les *Grandes Chroniques de France*', pp. 408–26.

⁴² Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 117.

⁴³ *Fragment Chronique rimée*, lines 29196–205, p. 58.

exercise excommunication without lay interference. It was a lengthy and serious affair begun in the 1230s and not fully resolved for over a decade. It witnessed two Bishops of Beauvais, Milon de Chatillon-Nanteuil (1217-34) and Godefroy de Clermont-Nesle (1234-36), place their see under repeated interdicts, the Archbishop of Reims place his province under interdict, and Gregory IX even raise the spectre of excommunicating Louis.⁴⁴ References to an earlier dispute between the royal government and the episcopate appeared in the annals of the cathedral chapter of Rouen,⁴⁵ and in the chronicle of the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Taurin of Évreux in an entry probably made before Louis's first crusade.⁴⁶ These latter referred to two quarrels that broke out in the early years of Louis's reign and which witnessed the seizure of the Archbishop of Rouen's temporalities. The Archbishop retaliated in the first dispute by placing royal lands in his diocese under interdict and in the second, between 1232 and 1234, by employing not only the interdict but also by excommunicating the King's officials.⁴⁷ If Louis was a saint it was quite inappropriate that he should have been engaged in lengthy disputes with archbishops and it was even more inappropriate that his crusade should have been upstaged.

Conceptions of 'history' were sufficiently flexible in the twelfth century to allow the complete invention and re-writing of segments of the past. As Bernard Guénée has noted, this situation, which had allowed, for example, the Dionysian fabrication of Charlemagne's voyage to the Holy Land, was to

⁴⁴ O. Pontal, 'Le différend entre Louis IX et les évêques de Beauvais et ses incidences sur les conciles (1232-1248)', *BEC*, 123 (1965), 5-34; Richard, *Louis*, p. 82; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 118-21.

⁴⁵ *E Chronico Rotomagensi*, pp. 332-33. The original chronicle ended in 1282. It survives only in copies made at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century and it is consequently not possible to determine the precise identity of individual annalists and the point at which each left off: Delisle, 'Annales de Rouen', pp. 195-96.

⁴⁶ *E Chronico monasterii Sancti Taurini Ebroicensis*, p. 466. The original text ends in 1240, although the chronicle was then continued in various hands up to 1296. A number of notes also appear to have been added in the early-fourteenth century: V. LeClerc, 'Chronique de Saint-Taurin d'Évreux', *HLF*, 21 (1847), 769-70. The last entry appears under 1317: L. Delisle, 'Annales rédigées ou continuées dans une maison de l'ordre de Cluni, puis à Fécamp, à Valmont, à Saint-Taurin d'Évreux, à Braine et à Caen', *HLF*, 32 (1898), 205-11 (p. 207).

⁴⁷ G. Campbell, 'The Attitude of the Monarchy Toward the Use of Ecclesiastical Censures in the Reign of Saint Louis', *Speculum*, 35 (1960), 535-55 (p. 538); Richard, *Louis*, p. 78.

change.⁴⁸ It seems probable that in northern France, at least, even by the mid-thirteenth century 'history' had become a concept closed to wholesale re-invention. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines was, for example, one of several writers to question elements of Charlemagne's mythical journey.⁴⁹ French writers adopted a more subtle approach to the past: selective editing and exaggeration. These techniques were applied to solve the problem of Louis's relationship with the Church: the entire dispute with the Archbishop of Rouen and his suffragan was simply absent from the pages of Guillaume de Nangis's *Gesta Ludovici*, absent from his universal history, absent from the French translations of his *Gesta*, and absent from *Grandes Chroniques* material.⁵⁰

The Beauvais dispute was not quite so thoroughly expunged. Vincent de Beauvais included an account of it in his *Speculum historiale*. Vincent's account minimized the conflict by re-telling it purely as a dispute between the bishops and the King, rather than re-counting the wider involvement of the Archbishop of Reims and Gregory IX. The fact that the account was included at all is almost certainly a further indication that Vincent's support for the Capetian dynasty was secondary to his concerns as a cleric. Although the Beauvais dispute is absent from Guillaume de Nangis's *Gesta Ludovici* and later material based upon it, it does appear in Guillaume's universal chronicle. One of Guillaume's principal sources for the latter was the *Speculum historiale* and Vincent provided Guillaume with his material for this particular incident. It was not, however, reiterated without suitable modification. Firstly, Guillaume considerably shortened the version given in the *Speculum historiale*. He also removed the suggestion that the interdict was put in place for many years⁵¹ and minimized royal involvement by removing Vincent's explicit statement that Godefroy de Clermont-Nesle had pursued his predecessor's cause against the King.⁵² The only other writer to touch upon the

⁴⁸ Guenée, *Histoire et culture*, pp. 351–52.

⁴⁹ M. Chazan, 'Les lieux de la critique dans l'historiographie médiévale', in *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge. Mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin*, ed. by S. Cassagnes-Brouquet and others (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003), pp. 25–37 (pp. 35–36).

⁵⁰ Spiegel's judgement that Guillaume displays 'irreproachable objectivity' (*Chronicle Tradition*, p. 101) has been rightly questioned: Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 349–57.

⁵¹ '[. . .] Milo, ejusdem civitatis episcopus [et comes], episcopatum supposuit interdicto', Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 185. Cf. 'et ob hoc episcopatus pluribus annis sub interdicto fuit', *Speculum historiale*, bk xxx, chap. cxxxvii, p. 1279.

⁵² Vincent had stated: '[. . .] Gaufridus eidem cause contra Regem insistens [. . .]', *Speculum historiale*, bk xxx, chap. cxxxvii, p. 1279. Guillaume rendered this: '[. . .] Gaufridus eidem causae insistens [. . .]'. The phrase 'contra regem' appeared in the first recension but

dispute was the rabidly anti-clerical minstrel of Reims. The minstrel altered events to exclude the King's direct involvement, and transformed it into a dispute between Blanche de Castille and Milon.⁵³ Erasing or re-writing embarrassing episodes from Louis's life made him a better king, but it did not make him a saint. The problem of establishing his exemplary uniqueness remained.

The most direct way of confirming Louis's sanctity was to recount his humble lifestyle and commitment to justice. For the hagiographers it also meant adding accounts of his miracles. A further means of demonstrating his distinctiveness was to draw comparisons between his actions and those of others. In the late-thirteenth century the Saint-Denis scriptorium, and Guillaume de Nangis in particular, found that an extremely effective comparison could be established between a saint-king and his antithesis. They found the latter in the person of Frederick II,⁵⁴ a ruler of whom laymen already had some suspicions and whose reputation was blackened amongst clerics by his dispute with the papacy. Little exaggeration was needed to paint Frederick as the anti-Louis, merely a high degree of selection and a little carefully chosen interpretation.

Frederick is not by any means absent from Guillaume de Nangis's *Gesta Ludovici*, but an account of his crusade does not appear. This absence is carried through into the French translations of Guillaume's *Gesta*, and hence into the *Grandes Chroniques* tradition. Is it really, though, all that surprising that Frederick's crusade did not feature in what is, after all, an account of the life of Louis IX? The genre of Guillaume's work does not provide an entirely satisfactory explanation. Several events are included in the *Gesta Ludovici* which had very little to do with Louis personally, such as Thibaud de Champagne's crusade and, most notably, Charles d'Anjou's Sicilian expedition.⁵⁵ It is true that these were essentially 'French' events that, it might be argued, were included under the broad principle that Guillaume sought to offer praise not just of Louis but of the

with reference to Milon and the appeal he lodged at the papal curia; the second recension removed the phrase entirely: Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, 1, 185.

⁵³ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xx, pp. 93–102.

⁵⁴ Compare with Le Goff, who proposed that Guillaume considered the Old Man of the Mountain to be *l'anti-bon roi, l'anti-Saint Louis*. Frederick 'sans être à proprement parler mauvais, est "douteux"': *Saint Louis*, p. 361.

⁵⁵ Respectively: *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, pp. 328–30, 418–38.

Capetian dynasty⁵⁶ and of the French more generally.⁵⁷ This, though, would not account for the lengthy 'diversions' devoted to recounting events such as the dispute between Simon de Montfort and Henry III,⁵⁸ or other elements of Frederick's reign, such as his deposition.⁵⁹ Why, then, was the imperial crusade excluded?

Many ecclesiastical writers had proved that it was quite possible to explain away Frederick's successful capture of Jerusalem and his ten-year truce in a negative light. However, as Aubri de Trois-Fontaines pointed out, for all the condemnation heaped on Frederick's head by the Church, his actions clearly impressed the common people.⁶⁰ The disastrous Egyptian expedition, which resulted in the death of Robert I d'Artois, the capture of Louis, his remaining brothers, and most of his army, furnished a splendid example of Christian suffering, and was one of the pillars upon which Louis's claims to sainthood rested.⁶¹ Thibaud de Champagne's 1239 expedition presented little that could detract from Louis's saintliness: it was as disastrous as the King's for many of its participants, but not quite so spectacularly so as to evoke comparison with Louis's sufferings.⁶² It remained inescapable, however, that Frederick's material success was liable to confuse, at the very least, any potential appreciation of Louis's own 'achievements' in the Holy Land.

As Philippe Mousket's account demonstrates, papal excommunication did little in itself to affect views of Frederick. The Emperor's status as an excommunicate throughout his crusade was not, therefore, the most convincing grounds upon which his achievements could be criticized. Frederick's recovery of Jerusalem had been dismissed by some on the grounds that the city had been

⁵⁶ M. Chazan, 'Guillaume de Nangis et la translation de l'Empire aux rois de France', in *Saint-Denis et la Royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. by F. Autrand, C. Gauvard, and J.-M. Moeglin (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), pp. 463-80 (pp. 468-70).

⁵⁷ Chazan, 'Guillaume de Nangis et la translation de l'Empire', pp. 470-72.

⁵⁸ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, pp. 414-18.

⁵⁹ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, pp. 346-52.

⁶⁰ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 925.

⁶¹ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 873-75.

⁶² Paradoxically, as Painter has noted, in practical terms Thibaud's expedition actually resulted in the recovery of more lands and fortresses than any crusade since the First Crusade. This success cannot really be attributed to the questionable tactics of the venture's somewhat hapless participants who, in any case, failed to capitalize on their opportunities: Painter, 'The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne', p. 464.

regained through an agreement with the Saracens. An agreement with the Saracens was precisely, though, what Louis had had to make. Frederick's negotiations were all the more awkward because the accord Louis came to with the Egyptians included amongst its terms an agreement that all Christians captured since the Emperor's truce should be released. The *Gesta Ludovici* alluded to this while ignoring the imperial crusade itself.⁶³ Arguments which condemned Frederick on the grounds that he had negotiated with the Saracens risked casting Louis's own actions in an unfavourable light. There was, additionally, the question of what had been achieved.

Frederick had secured Jerusalem; Louis had had to hand over a city, Damietta, and was forced to pay large sums to buy back not only his own freedom but also that of other Christian prisoners.⁶⁴ To fail to condemn Frederick's truce with the Saracens in any account of the imperial crusade would only highlight Louis's material failures in comparison with Frederick's achievements. Even before Louis's death, the minstrel of Reims, who displayed a keen interest in the crusade and was not particularly hostile to Frederick, devoted several chapters to the French king's venture, but passed over the imperial crusade in silence.⁶⁵ It was a trend followed after 1270 by almost all French writers with two exceptions. The first was a Benedictine of Sens, Geoffroi de Collon (d. c. 1294),⁶⁶ whose summing up of Frederick's expedition could hardly have been less enthusiastic.⁶⁷ Geoffroi's chronicle, which existed in two recensions, did not enjoy the popularity of Dionysian works but certainly

⁶³ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, p. 378. Also: *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, ed. by P. C. F. Daunou and J. Naudet, in *RHGF*, xx, 313–465 (p. 379) (anonymous French translation of Guillaume de Nangis's *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*; probably made at Saint-Denis); *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 81; *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 154.

⁶⁴ Richard, *Louis*, pp. 234–37.

⁶⁵ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxxv, xxxvi, pp. 189–204. On Louis's agreement with his captors: *ibid.*, chap. xxxvi, pp. 202–03.

⁶⁶ Concerning Geoffroi: V. LeClerc, 'Geoffroi de Collon ou Courlon, Bénédictin de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, chroniqueur', *HLF*, 21 (1847), 1–20; C. N. Jones, 'Geoffroi de Collon, Benedictine chronicler, d. before 1295', *International Encyclopaedia for the Middle Ages-Online: A Supplement to LexMA-Online* <<http://www.brepolis.net>> [accessed 15 September 2006].

⁶⁷ '[...] relinquens xpistianis Terre-Sancte maiorem desolationem quam consolationem', *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens rédigée vers la fin du XIII^e siècle par Geoffroy de Courlon*, ed. and trans. by G. Julliot (Sens: Duchemin, 1876), p. 514.

seems to have circulated in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, both at Sens and possibly beyond.⁶⁸ The second to refer to Frederick's crusade was Guillaume de Nangis himself.

⁶⁸ The sole source for Julliot's edition was a late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth-century manuscript probably in the possession of the monastery of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif (Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 62). The significance of Geoffroi's contribution to shaping conceptions of history, at least in the Sens region, may not yet have been appreciated fully. Two fourteenth-century manuscripts, one of which represents a version of the chronicle heavily abbreviated for the period prior to 721, remained at Sens until the mid-nineteenth century after which both entered the Bibliothèque municipale of Metz (Descriptions appear in: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements - Rouen et Amiens (2^e supplément), universités de Lille et Nancy, Metz (supplément)*, 48 (Paris: Plon, 1933), p. 409). Of these one was almost certainly a second copy in the possession of the abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif but representing a second, slightly later, recension than the text edited by Julliot; the second was probably in the possession of the Franciscans of Sens. On the manuscript tradition of Geoffroi's chronicle see the recent study: F. Delivré, 'Les Chroniques de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif au miroir de la primatie sénonnaise. Enquête sur les manuscrits d'Odorannus, du pseudo-Clarius et de Geoffroy de Courlon', *BEC*, 163 (2005), 481–503. I have recently discovered a post-medieval transcript of a chronicle attributed to Geoffroi whose contents match neither the Sens manuscript, the descriptions of the content of the manuscripts at Metz, or two further manuscripts of Geoffroi's universal chronicle now in the Vatican. The text is part of an eighteenth-century Benedictine collection although the transcription itself may be seventeenth-century (Paris, BnF, Collection de Champagne, XLII (Sens II), fols 153^v–210^v; noted: P. Lauer, *Bibliothèque nationale, Collections manuscrites sur l'histoire des provinces de France. Inventaire*, 2 vols (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905), I, 82). While, as Delivré notes ('Les Chroniques de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif', pp. 500–01), certain seventeenth- and eighteenth-century collections, such as Paris, BnF, Mélanges Colbert, no. 47, contain extracts of Geoffroi's work taken from medieval manuscripts, this text, which Delivré does not remark upon, appears to be a different case. The version that has been preserved contains only the text of Geoffroi's chronicle down to table thirty-six (the chronicle is organized as a series of fifty-two tables, each dealing with the reign of an archbishop of Sens), interspersed with editorial notes. Comparison with Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat., MS 480 suggests that the surviving tables possess an arrangement closer to the second recension of the chronicle than the first. However, the Champagne manuscript contains rubrics and variations which distinguish it from Reg. lat., MS 480. In addition, the Champagne text does not include tables of rulers and churchmen following its prologue and — if the transcriber is to be trusted — it possesses the unique distinction of noting that, if complete, it would

Guillaume de Nangis's universal chronicle, written in the late 1290s, became well known.⁶⁹ In the context of writing a much wider history whose parameters were dictated essentially by the genre of universal history, Guillaume found it necessary to address a topic he had chosen previously simply to ignore.⁷⁰ In common with the royal-episcopal dispute at Beauvais this was almost certainly because Guillaume's source, the *Speculum historiale*, gave an account of the crusade.⁷¹ On this occasion Guillaume's solution was to expand upon Vincent's brief version, but in doing so to present not an account of Frederick's crusade but of a crusade in which Frederick had participated. It was Gregory IX who was portrayed as the organizer and inspiration behind the venture and Frederick as simply an unwilling participant. Gregory's instructions that the crusaders assemble at Brindisi are carefully highlighted, twice, and the Pope is thereby ascribed the predominant, indeed the only, organisational role in the crusade.⁷² Guillaume emphasized that it was necessary for the Pope to order Frederick, *qui a longo tempore cruce signatus fuerat*, to set out⁷³ and the Emperor fared little better when he did eventually get under way.

In depicting Frederick as a crusader Guillaume's use of language, as much as his selective presentation, painted a damning portrait of a secretive, disobedient, and deeply untrustworthy man. Frederick earned excommunication by secretly

conclude in 1298, rather than the more common claim of 1295 (BnF, Collection de Champagne, XLII (Sens II), fol. 153^v; the incipit itself states a different, equally uncommon date, 1294, but the whole incipit may well be the invention of the transcriber, fol. 153^r). The Champagne text possibly, therefore, represents a third, previously unknown, recension of Geoffroi's chronicle and deserves further attention.

Two thirteenth-century copies remain extant at the Vatican library: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat., MS 455; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat., MS 480: A. Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini*, 2 vols (Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 1932–45), II, 602–03, 656–57. Their provenance prior to the seventeenth century remains unclear: Delivré, 'Les Chroniques de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif', p. 497.

⁶⁹ The survival of at least twenty manuscripts indicates a moderate degree of success. Seven date from prior to 1350. Concerning the question of assessing success by numbers of extant manuscripts: Guenée, *Histoire et culture*, p. 255.

⁷⁰ Although it is worth noting that Frederick's crusade is absent from another universal chronicle, the *Memoriale historiarum* of Jean de Saint-Victor: Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 622.

⁷¹ *Speculum historiale*, bk xxx, chap. cxxix, p. 1277.

⁷² Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 178, 180. Guillaume's chronology for these events is dubious.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

deserting the crusade, an action for which the chronicle seeks to provide no mitigation.⁷⁴ His eventual arrival in the Holy Land only reinforced the point: still excommunicate, Frederick, said to be again acting secretly because he was aware the Pope had refused to grant him absolution, had himself crowned in Jerusalem. He then left the Holy Sepulchre in the hands of the Saracens and begged the Sultan for a ten-year truce. Compounding his sins, Frederick then returned to Apulia and invaded the lands of the pope, the Hospitallers and the Templars.⁷⁵ The portrayal of the imperial crusade by Guillaume de Nangis could not have painted a blacker picture of the Emperor.

If his treaty with al-Kamil was inconvenient, Frederick's relations with the Saracens were not a topic to be entirely forgotten. The portrayal of these relations became one of the cornerstones of the Dionysian portrait of Frederick that emerged after 1270. A prominent feature of Guillaume's account of the imperial crusade in his universal chronicle was his frequent emphasis upon Frederick's good relations with the Muslims.⁷⁶ The Emperor was depicted as negotiating with the Sultan in advance of his crusade⁷⁷ and it was for this reason that Gregory is said to have refused Frederick absolution when he arrived in the Holy Land.⁷⁸ The theme of Frederick's friendship with the Saracens, evident in pre-1270 works such as the continuation of William of Tyre, was one that Guillaume de Nangis had already addressed. He devoted a long passage of his *Gesta Ludovici* to the topic as part of the fourth reason for the Emperor's condemnation at the Council of Lyon: heresy. Guillaume listed not only Frederick's friendship with the Muslims but, echoing Innocent IV's bull of deposition,⁷⁹ also the charges that he imitated their way of life and that he had allowed the name of Mohammed to be pronounced in the Holy Sepulchre.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ '[...] imperator furtive ab eis per galeas recedens, Brundisium est reversus', *ibid.*, p. 180.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁷⁶ This was not an altogether inaccurate assessment of Frederick's relations with the Muslim world. For an overview: H. Bresc, 'Frédéric II et l'Islam', in *Frédéric II (1194–1250) et l'héritage normand de Sicile*, ed. by A.-M. Flambard Héricher, Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle, 25–28 septembre 1997 (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2000), pp. 79–92.

⁷⁷ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 181, 183. There was undoubtedly some truth in this charge: Van Cleve, 'The Crusade of Frederick II', p. 449.

⁷⁸ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 184.

⁷⁹ MGH *Constitutiones* 2, no. 400, pp. 511–12 (17 July 1245, Lyon).

⁸⁰ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, pp. 350–52. These comments make oblique references to the iniquities of Frederick's crusade.

Equally, while Frederick's good relations with the Muslims of the East came to the fore, the Emperor's rather more turbulent ones with those who lived on the island of Sicily were subject to a process of collective amnesia even more profound than that which had descended upon the imperial crusade. Earlier writers, such as Aubri de Trois-Fontaines and Philippe Mousket, remembered well that Frederick had violently suppressed a rebellion of Sicilian Saracens and forcibly deported the population to Lucera.⁸¹ Again this was a point which, after 1270, was only to find a place in Guillaume de Nangis's universal chronicle, where it was noted simply that Frederick had assembled the Saracens all in one place.⁸² More straightforward than the implicit comparison between Frederick's and Louis's attitude towards the Saracens, was Guillaume's juxtaposition of Louis's decision to take the cross with the Emperor's deposition.⁸³ Guillaume's juxtaposition was followed by both the French translation of the *Gesta Ludovici*⁸⁴ and by material produced within the Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques* tradition.⁸⁵ Guillaume's use of this comparative technique has been noted by Dr Chazan,⁸⁶ although the fact that it seems to have been taken up by Guillaume, rather than invented by him, has not been remarked upon.

In the second half of the thirteenth century the idea appeared in Normandy in the Norman chronicle⁸⁷ and in the chronicle of the abbey of Fécamp, the latter possibly the clearest example of the juxtaposition: 'Celebrata est sancta synodus Lugdunensis a domino Innocentio papa IIII in ecclesia Sancti Johannis, et Fredericus quassatus, et rex Franciae cruce signatus'.⁸⁸ It also appeared in Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*, where it was not Louis's taking of the cross but the preaching of his crusade which was juxtaposed with Frederick's

⁸¹ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, pp. 894, 916; *Historia Regum Francorum*, lines 23333–54, p. 767. Philippe also noted Frederick's close relations with the Saracens: *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 28631–33, p. 53.

⁸² Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 178–79. These remarks are absent from the first recension of the chronicle.

⁸³ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, pp. 344–46.

⁸⁴ *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, pp. 343–47.

⁸⁵ *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 39–44; *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 106–10.

⁸⁶ Chazan, 'Guillaume de Nangis et la translation de l'Empire', p. 476.

⁸⁷ *E Chronico Normanniae*, pp. 213–14.

⁸⁸ *E Chronico Fiscannensis coenobii*, p. 430.

deposition.⁸⁹ Guillaume de Nangis adopted Vincent's version in his universal chronicle.⁹⁰ The course of events was clear: in December 1244 a severe illness had led Louis to take the cross; the following July Frederick had been deposed at Lyon; and then, later in 1245, the papal legate, Eudes de Châteauroux, had been sent to France to organize the preaching of the crusade.⁹¹ While Guillaume and Vincent both preserved this essential order, the Norman chroniclers took the interesting step of inverting events completely and conveyed, as a consequence, the idea that Louis's taking of the Cross was a response to Frederick's deposition. This practice was continued in the mid-1320s by Landolpho of Colonna writing at Chartres.⁹²

Certainly some accounts, such as the annals of Rouen,⁹³ seem to have avoided combining the two events, yet the juxtaposition appears to have been a frequent one. The anonymous author of a French chronicle of limited circulation⁹⁴ ending in 1286, probably writing in the early years of Philippe IV's reign, chose to sandwich Frederick's deposition between Louis's taking of the cross and his departure for Egypt.⁹⁵ Similarly, a juxtaposition of Louis's taking of the cross with Frederick's deposition appeared in Guillaume de Puylaurens's account⁹⁶ and of the deposition and the departure for the crusade in a chronicle in the possession of the abbey of Saint-Martial of Limoges.⁹⁷ Although a series of notes were added to this latter chronicle after 1309 by contemporary monks of Saint-Martial, the greater part, including these comments, was probably drawn up in 1310 by Simon de Châteauneuf (d. 17 April 1320), a monk of the neighbouring abbey of Saint-Martin.⁹⁸ Another Limousin chronicler drew the comparison even more explicitly: firstly, he noted that Gregory excommunicated Frederick for impeding the crusade, and then juxtaposed his

⁸⁹ *Speculum historiale*, bk xxxi, chap. i, p. 1286.

⁹⁰ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 198–99.

⁹¹ Richard, *Louis*, pp. 172, 179.

⁹² *E Breviario historiarum Landulphi de Columna*, p. 195.

⁹³ *E Chronico Rotomagensi*, pp. 338–39.

⁹⁴ The text is represented by only one manuscript: *Ex Historiae regum franciae continuatione parisiensi*, p. 604.

⁹⁵ *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, p. 82.

⁹⁶ Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronique 1145–1275*, p. 188.

⁹⁷ *Anonymum S. Martialis Chronicon ab anno M. CC. VII. ad ann. M. CCC. XX.*, p. 131.

⁹⁸ Duplès-Agier, *Chroniques de Saint-Martial*, pp. lv–lvi.

deposition with the granting of papal permission for the collection of the tenth in France to fund Louis's expedition.⁹⁹ The drawing of a comparison between Louis and Frederick was, therefore, by no means unique to Saint-Denis, but it was at the latter that it was developed to its fullest extent.

Mireille Chazan has suggested that in composing his universal chronicle, Guillaume de Nangis sought to juxtapose Louis's and Frederick's actions on a near year-by-year basis. His intention, in her view, was thereby to highlight Louis's 'imperial' qualities and to demonstrate that the French king occupied the position of *de facto* emperor of Christendom.¹⁰⁰ Chazan almost certainly goes too far in suggesting that Guillaume intended to draw a direct comparison between specific events other than Louis's crusade and Frederick's deposition. There is, for example, little indication that Guillaume sought to link Frederick's excommunication and alliance with the Sultan with Louis's foundation of Royaumont, even though both occurred at approximately the same time.¹⁰¹ Guillaume certainly intended that Frederick and Louis were to be compared, but it was their opposed attitudes that he sought to juxtapose more frequently than their specific actions. Moreover, Dr Chazan's explanation of why Guillaume sought to introduce this juxtaposition seems unlikely. This is in large part because the concept appeared not only in Guillaume's universal chronicle, but in his earlier work, the *Gesta Ludovici*. The *Gesta* lacked the imperial focus inherent in a universal chronicle founded on the work of Sigebert de Gembloux and, as such, it seems improbable that this earlier use of juxtaposition can be interpreted as an attempt to cast Louis as the successor to imperial rulers that Frederick had failed to be. It seems probable that the comparative technique was imported into the universal chronicle from the *Gesta* and that its intended function was the same in both cases.

Frederick's role was intended to be an *active* rather than a *passive* one in both the *Gesta Ludovici* and the universal chronicle. Guillaume, who may have owed the original inspiration for this model to a Latin chronicle written by Primat,¹⁰²

⁹⁹ *Ex notis Lemovicensibus*, ed. by O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS, 26, pp. 436–37 (p. 437).

¹⁰⁰ Chazan, 'Guillaume de Nangis et la translation de l'Empire', pp. 476–77.

¹⁰¹ Compare with Chazan's view: Chazan, 'Guillaume de Nangis et la translation de l'Empire', p. 476.

¹⁰² The text of this chronicle is no longer extant. Its existence is known only from a fourteenth-century French translation of the section from 1251 to 1277. Primat is identified as the author by the translator: *Chronique de Primat*, pp. 5, 63. Cf. Le Goff's view concerning Primat's authorship: *Saint Louis*, p. 349, n. 1. That the original does not

sought to depict a specific relationship between Louis and Frederick. This relationship was one in which Louis acted as the ultimate defender and protector of the Church and Frederick became its definitive persecutor: the saint-king and his nemesis. Logic led to the idea of confrontation between the two and indeed this is precisely the picture Guillaume painted. The key to understanding *why* Guillaume sought to create this relationship lies in the basic Dionysian aim: the promotion of Louis's sanctity.¹⁰³ Frederick then, at least before 1300, was employed to erect an important pillar in the Dionysian 'case' for Louis's sainthood.

The Emperor, treated with suspicion even before his excommunication, was considered by French ecclesiastical writers to be an opponent of the papacy and an enemy of the Church more generally. This tendency was as evident after 1270 as before: Geoffroi de Collon, for example, presented Frederick as having been excommunicated in the very year of his coronation for his desire to destroy the Church. Geoffroi implied that the Emperor remained in this state until his condemnation by Innocent IV.¹⁰⁴ A further example, written in the first third of the fourteenth century, is the Dominican Bernard Gui's account of the re-opening of the papal-imperial dispute at the beginning of Innocent's pontificate.¹⁰⁵ Gui, like Landolpho of Colonna — the latter labelled *Romanum satrapam* by Marsilius of Padua¹⁰⁶ — was closely associated with the papacy,¹⁰⁷ a factor which probably influenced a continued emphasis upon Frederick's culpability in both cases. Into this pattern Guillaume de Nangis wove a new thread: the development of Frederick as the active opponent of the French king, the latter the defender of the Church and the pope.

survive and the fact that the translation remains extant in only one manuscript suggests that neither enjoyed a popularity comparable to that of other Dionysian texts. For the relationship between Guillaume's work and that of his predecessors at Saint-Denis: Jones, 'The Role of Frederick II', pp. 277–78.

¹⁰³ Guillaume's aims are explored within the wider context of late-thirteenth-century efforts to secure Louis IX's canonization in my article: Jones, 'The Role of Frederick II', pp. 273–94.

¹⁰⁴ *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, pp. 506, 512–20.

¹⁰⁵ *Flores chronicorum*, p. 696.

¹⁰⁶ *De translatione imperii*, in Marsile de Padoue. *Oeuvres mineures, Défenseur minor, De translatione imperii*, ed. by C. Jeudy and J. Quillet (Paris: CNRS, 1979), pp. 369–432 (chap. 1, p. 374).

¹⁰⁷ On Gui's career: B. Guenée, *Entre l'Église et l'État, quatre vies de prélats français à la fin du moyen âge (XIII^e–XV^e siècle)* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), pp. 49–85.

The first aspect of Guillaume's approach involved the whole-hearted re-writing of Capetian-Staufer relations prior to 1250. The *Gesta Ludovici VIII*'s Dionysian author had already passed over Frederick's acquiescence in the siege of Avignon in silence.¹⁰⁸ This latter provided the source from which the omission was incorporated into the Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques* tradition.¹⁰⁹ More strikingly, Guillaume de Nangis pointedly passed over Louis's efforts, known from papal¹¹⁰ and imperial correspondence,¹¹¹ to negotiate a settlement between Frederick and the papacy. These efforts had been widely known and remarked upon by earlier ecclesiastical and lay writers.¹¹² This is particularly striking given the attention Guillaume paid to Louis's efforts to negotiate between the English king and his barons, efforts which similarly ended in failure.¹¹³ In fact, the only positive aspect of French relations with Frederick Guillaume retained was the suggestion, originally from Guillaume le Breton's *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, that he had been established as emperor through the support of the Capetian dynasty.¹¹⁴ This did little to paint Frederick in a better light: in fact, his iniquity appeared all the worse because he had turned against those who had first helped him.

It was not Guillaume's intention to depict Frederick as an enemy of the French king in the same manner as, for example, Henry III and the French barons who had opposed Louis before his crusade. Thus, Guillaume ignored the rumours that Frederick had participated in the baronial alliance of the early 1240s, rumours which, as was noted in chapter one, had drawn strong condemnation from Philippe Mousket. The Emperor's opposition to Louis was of a different order entirely and had nothing to do with feudal or territorial

¹⁰⁸ *Ex Gestis Ludovici VIII. Regis*, ed. by H. Brosien, MGH SS, 26, pp. 631–32. The account of the siege was based upon: *Speculum historiale*, bk xxx, chap. cxxviii, p. 1276. Vincent's work and the chronicle of Saint-Martin of Tours formed the primary sources for this short account composed c. 1286: Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 97.

¹⁰⁹ *Grandes Chroniques*, VII, 20–24.

¹¹⁰ MGH *Epistolae saeculi XIII*, II, no. 257, p. 192 (5 November 1246, Lyon); *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, VI, 641 (c. July 1248); pp. 643–44 (August 1248).

¹¹¹ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, VI, 472–74 (end of November 1246); pp. 644–46 (August 1248); pp. 710–13 (March/April 1249).

¹¹² For example: *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 944; *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxiii, p. 126; *Chronica majora*, v, 22–23.

¹¹³ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, pp. 414–16.

¹¹⁴ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 132, 138.

disputes. According to Guillaume de Nangis, the Emperor had sought to convoke a conference of Christian princes in 1238. In actual fact Frederick had tried twice to convene a meeting between himself, Louis, and the English king Henry III, first in 1236 and then again in 1237. Both meetings were called off, the first by the English and the second — that which Guillaume was probably referring to — by the Emperor himself, but had been intended by Frederick primarily as opportunities for the brokering of a settlement to the Capetian-Plantagenet dispute.¹¹⁵ Under the Dionysian's pen, the proposed meeting became an event staged with the malicious and sole intention of doing harm to Louis. The view appeared first in his *Gesta Ludovici*, later in his universal chronicle, and from the former became integral to both the French life of Louis and the Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques*.¹¹⁶ In the latter it was assigned its own chapter under the title 'De la traison l'empereour Federic'.¹¹⁷ Andrea Sommerlechner was correct to suggest that Guillaume's depiction of contact between Frederick and Louis was significant and the author's intention to create a contrast between them.¹¹⁸ Yet the 1237/8 incident was intended to show not only that Frederick and Louis were opposed to each other, but that their conflict was elevated above a mere secular dispute. Guillaume, as Chazan has made clear, was at pains to point out that it was only divine intervention which had saved Louis from the evil machinations of the Emperor.¹¹⁹ This depiction of Louis as God's faithful servant and of Frederick as his malevolent opponent reached its apogee in Guillaume's version of the Emperor's dispute with the papacy.

The circumstances of 1241, which placed large numbers of transalpine clerics in imperial hands, drew considerable attention.¹²⁰ For Norman writers

¹¹⁵ Weiler, *Henry III*, pp. 73–75.

¹¹⁶ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, pp. 324–26; *Chronique latine*, I, 190; *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, pp. 325–27; *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 18–19; *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 71–72.

¹¹⁷ *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 71.

¹¹⁸ Sommerlechner, pp. 114, 115.

¹¹⁹ Chazan, 'Guillaume de Nangis et la translation de l'Empire', p. 464. The idea was later abandoned by the Dionysians: *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 72.

¹²⁰ For example: *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 31003–08, p. 78; Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, bk xxx, chap. cxxxviii, p. 1280; *Ex notis Lemovicensibus*, p. 436; *Guillaume de Puylaurens. Chronique 1145–1275*, p. 170; *Chronique attribuée à Baudouin d'Avesnes*, p. 163. Geoffroi de Collon implied the incident occurred at the beginning of Gregory's pontificate: *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 512.

the capture of the Archbishop of Rouen and the Abbot of Fécamp made it a matter of particular local interest.¹²¹ It became the ultimate exemplar for men closely associated with the papal court, such as Bernard Gui, interested in highlighting Frederick's perfidy.¹²² For the majority, the case was a straightforward one of piracy and imprisonment: a Pisan fleet accosted the churchmen as they sailed to Rome; this resulted in the drowning of several prelates while the remainder, including the English and French legates, were carted off to imperial prisons in the *regno*.¹²³ The Dionysian historians added an additional element to these already charged events: Louis IX.¹²⁴

In the hands of Guillaume de Nangis the dispute became not simply an example of Frederick's persecution of the Church, but essentially a confrontation between the French king, as its defender, and Frederick, as its persecutor. This approach is strikingly different from the account given by Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* or that offered by the fourteenth-century papal apologist Bernard Gui. The primary interest of both Vincent and Bernard was in the capture of the cardinals and Louis's involvement is entirely absent. Gui did not even think it worth mentioning that many of the captured prelates were French.¹²⁵ For Guillaume, in contrast, the capture of the prelates was simply a prelude to the confrontation between Louis and Frederick, recounted through a series of angry letters. The Emperor's response to Louis's request that he free the prelates was taken from a genuine imperial letter,¹²⁶ but it was truncated by Guillaume to its final rhetorical flourish, giving the impression of arrogance, obstinacy, and aggression on Frederick's part: 'Non miretur Regia Celsitudo, si praelatos Franciae in angusto Caesar tenet Augustus, qui ad Caesaris angustias trahebantur'.¹²⁷ Louis, upon hearing this, *et vehementer admirans*, responded with a long and threatening reply. Passing silently over the fact that it was actually several years before the prelates were

¹²¹ *E Chronico Normanniae*, p. 213; *E Chronico Rotomagensi*, p. 338; *E Chronicis Lirensis monasterii*, p. 468.

¹²² *Flores chronicorum*, pp. 694–95.

¹²³ Stürner, II, 501.

¹²⁴ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, pp. 330–32; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 192–94; *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, pp. 331–33; *Grandes Chroniques*, X, 25–28; *Grandes Chroniques*, VII, 80–85.

¹²⁵ *Speculum historiale*, bk xxx, chap. cxxxviii, p. 1280; *Flores chronicorum*, pp. 694–95.

¹²⁶ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, VI, 1–3 (September 1241).

¹²⁷ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, p. 332.

freed, Guillaume recorded simply that Frederick met Louis's request.¹²⁸ Frederick's condemnation at Lyon was important to Guillaume but it remained essentially the aftermath to this epic confrontation.

It may be the case, as Dr Chazan suggested, that one of Guillaume's intentions was to demonstrate that the Hohenstaufen dynasty as a whole were enemies of the Capetians in order to underline solidarity between the kingdoms of France and Naples, in the wake of Charles d'Anjou's efforts to displace Frederick's heirs.¹²⁹ Yet this alone does not account for the complexity inherent in Guillaume's attempts to depict Frederick as Louis's antithesis. By highlighting Frederick's relations with the Muslims and inserting Louis into the Emperor's dispute with the papacy Guillaume was able to fashion a portrait which not only contrasted Frederick's and Louis's attitudes towards the Church but presented one as its persecutor and the other as its defender. By exaggerating Frederick's villainy, Guillaume created an argument for the unique saintliness of his opponent. Louis's sanctity became founded upon his qualities as a defender of the Church.

Guillaume's approach was not adopted by Geoffroi de Collon, Landolpho of Colonna, or Bernard Gui, all of whom preferred to maintain centre stage for the papacy. At the same time it was not without influence. Beyond the circulation of Guillaume's own works and material in the Dionysian tradition, a version of the capture of the prelates clearly based upon Guillaume's account appeared, for example, in the *Historia satirica regum, regnorum et summorum pontificum*, whose anonymous author wrote between 1297 and 1328.¹³⁰ Guillaume's concept enjoyed a mixed reception both within and beyond the walls of Saint-Denis.

Frederick after Guillaume — The Fragmented Image

The changes introduced into the second recension of Guillaume's universal chronicle did little to alter Frederick's role. As early as the first decade of the fourteenth century, however, the Dionysian scriptorium appears to have sought

¹²⁸ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, p. 332.

¹²⁹ Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 621–22.

¹³⁰ *Ex Historia satirica regum, regnorum et summorum pontificum ab anonymo auctore ante annum M.CCC.XXVIII. scripta*, ed. by N. de Wailly and L. Delisle, in *RHGF*, xxii, 12–15 (p. 12).

to unravel at least some of the elements of the comparative relationship Guillaume had established. The *Gesta Ludovici* had set the final seal upon Frederick's wickedness by giving a lengthy account of his condemnation at Lyon and the reasons for it. By the early-fourteenth century this material appears to have been regarded as less important. In particular, the third reason for Frederick's condemnation — his treatment of the prelates in 1241 — was abbreviated by Guillaume's first translator, and the fourth, a lengthy account of the Emperor's heretical dealings with the Saracens and his attitude towards Islam, was truncated to the statement: 'La quarte cause ce fu heresie, dont il fu prouves et atains'.¹³¹ The *Grandes Chroniques* produced for Jean, Duke of Normandy, did append a note summarising the original Latin,¹³² but in both the second translation¹³³ and the version prepared in the 1340s the original translator's simple summary seems to have remained the norm.¹³⁴ These changes had the effect of lessening the contrast Guillaume had originally created between a saint-king and his antithesis.

The success of Guillaume's model of Frederick as Louis's nemesis was limited essentially by two developments. The first and undoubtedly the most important was the triumph of a rather different image of *saint* Louis to that of Guillaume's defender of the Church, the image of the mendicant brother favoured and promulgated by the Franciscan and Dominican orders. An example is Guillaume de Saint-Pathus's panegyric of Louis presented in the form of a sermon.¹³⁵ This image came to the fore and received both papal and Capetian approbation after 1297.¹³⁶ At the same time, changing political concerns forced a more circumspect approach to a key element of Guillaume's model: Frederick's relations with the papacy.¹³⁷

At the heart of Guillaume's comparative conceit lay a portrait of Louis as the protector of the Church and Frederick as its persecutor. Guillaume created, with some considerable exaggeration and a great deal of selectivity, a black and

¹³¹ *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, p. 351.

¹³² *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 47, n. 2.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, x, 47.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, vii, 110.

¹³⁵ H.-F. Delaborde, 'Une oeuvre nouvelle de Guillaume de Saint-Pathus', *BEC*, 63 (1902), 263–88; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 341–44.

¹³⁶ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 332–33.

¹³⁷ I am grateful to Dr Jay Rubenstein of the University of Tennessee with whom I discussed this point.

white distinction between Louis and Frederick. This was achieved by focusing upon two key moments in Frederick's career: his imprisonment of the prelates and his deposition by the Pope. The breakdown in relations between Philippe IV and the papacy in the first years of the fourteenth century had, however, important implications for the Dionysian conceit. The striking depiction of the villainous Frederick undoubtedly had the potential to evoke unwelcome comparisons with the present king of France. After all, had not Philippe le Bel imprisoned the Bishop of Pamiers, Bernard Saisset, entered into open breach with Pope Boniface VIII, and been threatened with chastisement, excommunication, and deposition?¹³⁸ It is perhaps less than surprising that Guillaume's translators, working in the shadow of these events, reduced the attention paid to the papal sentence condemning Frederick and the section concerning his imprisonment of prelates. The potential to draw parallels between Philippe and Frederick lay in more than the specific circumstances of the dispute with Boniface. Could not Philippe also be regarded as a ruler who had delayed the crusade and failed to depart for the East?

That the papal-Hospitaller crusade planned for 1309 was stillborn was in large part due to the fact that Philippe backed out of his commitment to finance it.¹³⁹ While Philippe did not take the cross until 1313, many considered him to be the leader of a new expedition from as early as the 1290s. This idea appeared with renewed conviction during the pontificate of Clement V and was enshrined in the decisions of the Council of Vienne (1311–12).¹⁴⁰ The development of the belief that the practical leadership of the crusade rested with the French king may have been something of a two-edged sword. In circumstances where Capetian supporters could claim that the problems of Flanders delayed the crusade,¹⁴¹ it is unlikely that Philippe would have wished to be reminded that Frederick had justified his delayed departure for the East

¹³⁸ For Philippe's relations with the troublesome Bishop of Pamiers and his second, altogether more serious, dispute with Pope Boniface VIII: T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (Oxford: Constable, 1933), pp. 297–351; Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, pp. 260–79; J. Favier, *Philippe Le Bel*, rev. edn (Paris: Fayard, 1998), pp. 318–28, 343–93; A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Boniface VIII. Un pape hérétique?* (Paris: Payot & Rivages, 2003), pp. 299–325.

¹³⁹ S. Schein, *Fideles crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land (1274–1314)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 226–27.

¹⁴⁰ Schein, *Fideles crucis*, pp. 145–47, 242.

¹⁴¹ *Sermo cum rex Franciae est processurus ad bellum*, in 'Un sermon prononcé pendant la guerre de Flandre sous Philippe le Bel', ed. by J. Leclercq, *Revue du moyen âge latin*, 1 (1945), 165–72 (p. 170).

on the grounds it was necessary to impose order upon the Lombards. Philippe's attempt to seize the goods of the order of the Temple was regarded, at least outside France, with a great deal of suspicion;¹⁴² again it is unlikely that Frederick's own strained relations with the order would have been a welcome parallel. The Dionysians must have found it awkward, not to say a little embarrassing, to have constructed in their portrait of Frederick II an antithesis of saintly kingship and then to find the villainous Emperor's actions emulated with apparent enthusiasm by the present King of France.

On the whole, the beginning of the fourteenth century marks the point at which interest in the last Hohenstaufen emperor began to decline. The trend began to develop even before the turn of the century. The rhyming chronicle of the Parisian abbey of Saint-Magloire, written in the mid-1290s, probably represents a bourgeois perspective formed in the Île-de-France and the Champagne region.¹⁴³ Its author, a monk, possibly originally from Provins, made no mention of even Frederick's deposition.¹⁴⁴ A sample of fourteenth-century works produced in Normandy suggests that, while Frederick was still the subject of occasional interest, as in the case of the chronicle of Monte-Sainte-Catherine, Rouen,¹⁴⁵ he was no longer considered worthy of either great attention or denunciation. The fourteenth-century annals of the monastery of Ouche, for example, had absolutely nothing to say about Frederick.¹⁴⁶ The last Hohenstaufen emperor was equally absent from Guillaume Guiart's *La Branche des royaus lignages* (c. 1306-07).¹⁴⁷ This latter absence is particularly

¹⁴² Schein, *Fideles crucis*, p. 254.

¹⁴³ P. Paris, 'Chroniques de Saint-Magloire', *HLF*, 25 (1869), 214-24.

¹⁴⁴ *Chronique rimée dite de Saint-Magloire*, ed. by N. de Wailly and L. Delisle, in *RHGF*, xxii, 81-87. As the editors of the *RHGF* noted, the chronicle appears to have been employed as a source by at least one anonymous mid-fourteenth-century Parisian chronicler: *Chronique anonyme finissant en M.CCC.LVI*, ed. by J. D. Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF*, xxi, 137-40 (pp. 137-38).

¹⁴⁵ *E Chronico sanctae Catharinae de Monte Rotomagi*, ed. by N. de Wailly, L. Delisle and C.-M.-G. B. Jourdain, in *RHGF*, xxiii, 397-410 (pp. 397, 401).

¹⁴⁶ *Ex Uticensis monasterii annalibus et necrologio*, ed. by N. de Wailly, L. Delisle and C.-M.-G. B. Jourdain, in *RHGF*, xxiii, 480-91 (pp. 480-84).

¹⁴⁷ For Louis's reign: *La Branche des Royaues Lignages, par Guillaume Guiart*, ed. by N. de Wailly and L. Delisle, in *RHGF*, xxii, 171-300 (lines 8965-12048, pp. 178-210). Guillaume Guiart does not appear to have attracted great interest amongst historians. Apart from a few basic entries in works such as the *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (A. Gier, 'Guiart, Guillaume', in *LexMA*, iv, 1768), the only reference I have encountered to

noteworthy because Guillaume, a layman originally from Orléans and an active participant in Philippe IV's Flemish wars, claimed to base his work upon the chronicles of Saint-Denis.¹⁴⁸ Yet Frederick was not entirely absent from the works of those who drew upon the abbey's resources.

In addition to the circulation of the scriptorium's output, the Saint-Denis library was a much-used resource and its content may be considered more influential than that of the majority of monastic libraries.¹⁴⁹ In consequence the mark of Guillaume de Nangis's approach to Frederick can be traced in a large number of works, although, in common with later material produced in the abbey itself, his model of Frederick's relationship with Louis tended to be deformed or ignored. Jean de Saint-Victor's *Memoriale historiarum*, which was compiled using Guillaume's universal history and other resources at Saint-Denis,¹⁵⁰ provides an example. Written in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, in addition to the deposition, Jean depicted only Frederick's attempts to ambush Louis and his excommunication in 1239. The latter was noted without explanation and the imprisonment of the clerics was passed over in silence.¹⁵¹ Similar instances are to be found in material connected with the *Grandes Chroniques* tradition but produced outside the abbey walls.

The years prior to 1350 witnessed the production of a large number of compilations which employed Primat's *Roman des rois* as their base and which are traditionally considered under the *Grandes Chroniques* umbrella. A number appear to have been the possession of the clergy, such as those owned by the chapter of Chartres and the abbey of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer. These latter examples comprised Primat's *Roman*, a life of Louis VIII, and a subsequent continuation based upon material specific to each institution.¹⁵² Primat's text was also the foundation for works owned by members of the high nobility, such

Guillaume's work appears in a recent article by Isabelle Guyot-Bachy. Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain a copy of this latter: I. Guyot-Bachy, 'Cris et trompettes. Les échos de la guerre chez les historiens et les chroniqueurs', in *Haro! Noël! Oyé!. Pratiques du cri au Moyen Age*, ed. by D. Lett and N. Offenstadt (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2003), pp. 103–15.

¹⁴⁸ *La Branche des Roys Lingnages*, lines 40–46, p. 173.

¹⁴⁹ Guenée, *Histoire et culture*, p. 255.

¹⁵⁰ Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 393.

¹⁵¹ Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 622.

¹⁵² Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 271 (312); Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 707. Guenée, 'Grandes Chroniques', p. 203; Hedeman, p. 191.

as the Countess of Artois,¹⁵³ and by laity less highly placed in the social order, such as Jeanne d'Amboise, second wife of Guillaume Flotte, chancellor of France, whom she married between 1339 and 1341.¹⁵⁴ The majority of these *Roman*-based compilations were products of professional *ateliers* run by artisans such as Thomas de Maubeuge. Thomas, originally from Hainaut, enjoyed an active and well documented career in Paris between 1313 and 1349.¹⁵⁵ These compilations were largely continued using material produced in the abbey of Saint-Denis, a factor which has led to the persistent assumption that the *Grandes Chroniques* remained essentially a Dionysian 'project' until the mid-fourteenth century.¹⁵⁶

In 1292–93 Guillaume de Nangis had written a brief Latin history of the kings of France, which he himself later translated into French in order, he stated, to provide a guide to the abbey's tombs.¹⁵⁷ Delisle's decision to classify the continuations of Primat's *Roman des rois* which did not employ the *Gesta Ludovici* as five families of what he considered to be an amplified French translation of Guillaume's abbreviated tomb guide,¹⁵⁸ probably lies at the heart of the almost certainly erroneous, yet influential, belief that the *Grandes Chroniques* remained strictly under Dionysian direction.¹⁵⁹ The *Grandes Chroniques* compilation ordered in 1318 from Thomas de Maubeuge's *atelier* by Pierre Honoré de Neufchâtel-en-Bray¹⁶⁰ illustrates several problems with the traditional assumption.

¹⁵³ The manuscript is no longer extant but a bill (dated 1305) exists for its illumination: Rouse and Rouse, II, appendix 7A, p. 172.

¹⁵⁴ Castres, Bibliothèque municipale [unnumbered] (1330s): Hedeman, pp. 187, 205–06.

¹⁵⁵ Rouse and Rouse, I, 173–78.

¹⁵⁶ For examples of this assumption: Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 117–22; Guenée, 'Grandes Chroniques', pp. 196, 201; Hedeman, p. 3.

¹⁵⁷ Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 103–05.

¹⁵⁸ Delisle, 'Mémoire [...] Guillaume de Nangis', pp. 353–64.

¹⁵⁹ Hedeman's description of material as 'Guillaume de Nangis's amplified chronicle for the lives of Louis VIII through Louis X' echoes Delisle's classification: p. 37. Delisle's system similarly underpins the most recent analysis of the evolution of the text: Guyot-Bachy and J.-M. Moeglin, 'Comment ont été continuées les *Grandes Chroniques de France*', particularly pp. 387–99. This interesting article is marred slightly by the fact that it does not take account of the research into the manuscript tradition of the *Grandes Chroniques* carried out by Richard and Mary Rouse.

¹⁶⁰ For the details of dating, owner and *atelier*: Paris, BnF, MS français, 10132, fol. 1^r.

Pierre Honoré (d. c. 1319–21) was Charles de Valois's *bailli* in Alençon, Anjou and Maine, and Chartres, and, after 1319, his agent in the guardianship of the sons of Louis d'Évreux.¹⁶¹ His copy of Primat's *Roman des rois* appears to have been continued, at least for the reigns of Louis VIII, his son, and grandson, using excerpts translated from Guillaume de Nangis's universal chronicle. This version of translated Dionysian material only appeared in certain copies of the *Grandes Chroniques*, all of which share similarities which suggest they were very probably produced in Thomas de Maubeuge's *atelier*.¹⁶² While it is possible that the Dionysians themselves prepared abbreviated translations of Guillaume's chronicle,¹⁶³ there is little reason to think that they supplied Thomas with this particular version.¹⁶⁴ They had presumably gone to a lot of trouble to translate both Guillaume's *Gesta Ludovici* and to prepare French versions of his Latin tomb guide. Why not supply Thomas with one of these if a continuation had been requested? A simpler explanation, which would account for this version being specific to manuscripts that appear to have been produced within Thomas's *atelier*, would be that it was the *atelier* itself that selected and either arranged for the translation of certain parts of Guillaume's Latin chronicle or prepared such translations as were required. These excerpts may have been chosen to meet the particular interests of the patron.¹⁶⁵ The absence of a

¹⁶¹ For the details of what is known of Pierre's life and career: Rouse and Rouse, I, 179; I. Guyot-Bachy, 'La diffusion du *Roman des rois* avant la Guerre de Cent Ans: le manuscrit de Pierre Honoré, serviteur de Charles de Valois', in *The Medieval Chronicle II: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle. Driebergen/Utrecht 16–21 July 1999*, ed. by E. Kooper (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 90–102 (pp. 90–91).

¹⁶² Rouse and Rouse, II, appendix 7D, pp. 173–75. The manuscripts containing this version are: Pierre Honoré's compilation; Jeanne d'Amboise's compilation; Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 5 (1330s); Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 407 Rés. Only Pierre Honoré's copy was known to Delisle.

¹⁶³ I. Guyot-Bachy, 'La *Chronique abrégée des rois de France* de Guillaume de Nangis: trois étapes de l'histoire d'un texte', in *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge. Mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin*, ed. by S. Cassagnes-Brouquet, and others (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003), pp. 39–46 (pp. 45–46).

¹⁶⁴ Compare with Guyot-Bachy, 'La *Chronique abrégée des rois de France* de Guillaume de Nangis', p. 46.

¹⁶⁵ For the possible role of the patron in the composition of BnF, MS fr. 10132: Rouse and Rouse, I, 181–82. The Rouses do not propose that the *atelier* was responsible for excerpting or translating material and do not believe the Parisian booktrade of the early-fourteenth century would have involved itself in the process of adapting and translating

Dionysian guiding hand is further suggested by the fact that these '*Grandes Chroniques*' were sometimes continued using material that did not originate in the abbey. Pierre's compilation, for example, was expanded beyond 1316 (possibly by Thomas's *atelier*, but possibly elsewhere¹⁶⁶) using a translation of Jean de Saint-Victor's *Memoriale historiarum* for the period after 1316,¹⁶⁷ and, when this ended in 1322, anonymous material (which almost certainly shared a common, but unknown, source with the 1340s Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques*) for the period up to 1329.¹⁶⁸ It is possible that this continuation, which was almost certainly completed by 1330,¹⁶⁹ was undertaken by a member of the household of Charles or Philippe de Valois.¹⁷⁰ To continue to subscribe to the idea, however, that all this varied material was somehow developed under the watchful control of the Dionysians and employed only at their direction is somewhat reminiscent of the attempts by late-medieval and early-modern scholars to develop increasingly complex explanations in defence of an Aristotelian model of the universe in which planetary motion took the form of perfect circular orbits. Johann Kepler's argument that the planets follow elliptical orbits offers an explanation better suited to observation.¹⁷¹ In the

material: Rouse and Rouse, 1, 227. It seems to me, however, to be a short step from continuing a personalized *Roman des rois* using a variety of existing materials to preparing such a continuation by arranging the translation of the most appropriate excerpts from those materials.

¹⁶⁶ There is compelling evidence to suggest that the continuator was not a Dionysian. If not a member of Thomas's *atelier*, he was almost certainly based in Paris but may have originated in the diocese of Chartres: Guyot-Bachy, 'La diffusion du *Roman des roys*', p. 92.

¹⁶⁷ Rouse and Rouse, 1, 179.

¹⁶⁸ The years 1322–28 are edited under the misleading title *Continuation anonyme de la chronique de Jean de S. Victor*, ed. by J. D. Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF*, xxi, 676–89, cited here as *Grandes Chroniques* (Paris BnF, MS fr. 10132 version), in *RHGF*, xxi. The years 1328–29 are edited in volume nine of Viard's edition of the *Grandes Chroniques*, pp. 330–41.

¹⁶⁹ Guyot-Bachy, 'La diffusion du *Roman des roys*', p. 91.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 92–94. While it may be true that, as Guyot-Bachy suggests, the continuation of this chronicle adopts a particularly pro-Valois stance (*ibid.*, pp. 94–96), there is little to suggest that the original compilation commissioned by Pierre Honoré in 1318 was intended to convey such an impression. The ownership of the manuscript after Pierre's death, which might clarify this matter, remains unclear.

¹⁷¹ For a summary of the various — increasingly convoluted — ways in which medieval thinkers attempted to account for the movement of the planets: R. Simek, *Heaven and Earth in the Middle Ages: The Physical World before Columbus*, trans. by A. Hall

absence of clear evidence to suggest that the Dionysians exercised some form of control over many of these *Grandes Chroniques* compilations, it is at least worth considering the possibility that they did not do so. In other words, the many abridged/amplified ‘versions’ of Guillaume de Nangis’s chronicle should be regarded as works in their own right and not as products of the abbey’s scriptorium.

The existence of a non-Dionysian — one might say ‘commercial’ — *Grandes Chroniques* tradition commissioned by a diverse audience,¹⁷² of which an anonymous continuation of Primat’s *Roman des rois* ending in 1286 may be the earliest example,¹⁷³ offers an indication of how Guillaume de Nangis’s image of Frederick was received beyond the abbey’s walls. In compiling Pierre Honoré’s *Grandes Chroniques*, for example, Thomas de Maubeuge’s *atelier* retained only one aspect of Guillaume’s portrait of Frederick: an account of the Emperor’s request that Louis meet with him at Vaucouleurs.¹⁷⁴ Thomas’s compiler noted in passing, when discussing Manfred and Conradin,¹⁷⁵ that Frederick had been deposed, but a lack of any account of Frederick’s deposition, or of the imperial crusade or of the Emperor’s imprisonment of the prelates, left the extent of Frederick’s villainy somewhat open to question. Frederick was clearly of little interest to the compiler and, devoid of the context established by Guillaume, his appearances in the account became a mere curiosity.

Was, then, the ultimate result of Guillaume de Nangis’s efforts to do little more than confirm and strengthen suspicion of Frederick’s motivations in

(Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996), pp. 17–19. For an account of Kepler’s demolition of these views: N. M. Wildiers, *The Theologian and his Universe: Theology and Cosmology from the Middle Ages to the Present* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1977), pp. 90–91.

¹⁷² Compare with Guyot-Bachy’s view that the *Grandes Chroniques* remained firmly within curial circles: Guyot-Bachy, ‘La diffusion du *Roman des rois*’, p. 98. Hedeman recognized the existence of an ‘independent’ tradition of production but continued to believe the content remained the preserve of the abbey until the mid-fourteenth century: p. 3. Also: Guenée, ‘*Grandes Chroniques*’, p. 196.

¹⁷³ *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, pp. 80–102. Large sections of the chronicle for the period prior to 1223 have clear similarities to Primat’s translation. The relationship between this chronicle and the *Grandes Chroniques* tradition has been the subject of much debate, the majority of which has focused upon trying to fit it in as a ‘stage’ in the development of the work. For a summary: Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 81–83.

¹⁷⁴ BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 366^r. Cf. Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 190.

¹⁷⁵ BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 371^r, 372^r.

northern France, particularly amongst the laity? Another case where the writer drew upon Dionysian sources, Jean de Joinville's *Livre des saintes paroles et des bons faiz nostre saint roy Looÿs*,¹⁷⁶ may suggest that occasionally Guillaume's basic concept of saint-king and nemesis fell upon more fertile ground. Despite what appears to have been a limited readership,¹⁷⁷ the *Livre des saintes paroles* is of particular importance because, as Seneschal of Champagne, its author represents a social stratum rather different from that of the majority of contemporary writers.¹⁷⁸

Joinville wrote as a man who had lived through Frederick's reign, but also as one who had been influenced by over half a century of hindsight. His condemnation of the Templars, for example, must be at least partially attributable to Philippe IV's attack on the order.¹⁷⁹ His primary intention was to justify the sanctity of his friend. He was not above criticism of Louis's decisions.¹⁸⁰ Like Guillaume de Nangis, however, he was not inclined to depict the King as the sort of man who engaged in tense stand-offs with the episcopate even if he was prepared to depict Louis taking part in a semi-abstract debate over the use of excommunication.¹⁸¹

Frederick occupied a not inconsiderable place in the background of Joinville's account. Two points marked the Seneschal's portrayal of the Emperor. The first of these was a repeated emphasis upon Frederick's friendship with the Saracens and the second was the suggestion that Frederick had been an enemy both of Louis and of the French more generally. Joinville made it clear that the Saracens held Frederick in high regard. The man who captured him in Egypt asked the Seneschal if he was related to the Emperor and, when Joinville said that he was, *il me dit que tant m'en amoit il miex*.¹⁸² Frederick was a man

¹⁷⁶ Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 118.

¹⁷⁷ Only one fourteenth-century copy remains extant: *Livre des saintes paroles*, p. xc.

¹⁷⁸ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 474–75. For a recent summary of the Seneschal's career: Smith, p. 47. Sommerlechner makes no more than passing references to Joinville: Sommerlechner, pp. 11, 114, 248, n. 36.

¹⁷⁹ *Livre des saintes paroles*, § 381–87, pp. 186–90; § 511–14, pp. 252–54.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, § 736, p. 364.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, § 61–64, pp. 30–32. Joinville's own turbulent relations with the clergy may have led him to include this episode: D. Boutet, 'Y a-t-il une idéologie royale dans la *Vie de saint Louis* de Joinville?', in *Le prince et son historien, la Vie de saint Louis de Joinville*, ed. by J. Dufournet and L. Harf (Paris: Champion, 1997), pp. 71–99 (pp. 93–94).

¹⁸² *Livre des saintes paroles*, § 326, p. 160.

who harboured infidels in his own lands,¹⁸³ and who had not only knighted Louis's chief opponent,¹⁸⁴ but allowed him to quarter his arms with his own.¹⁸⁵ This latter hinted at the particularly Dionysian idea of enmity between Frederick and Louis.

Frederick took pains to ensure copies of instructions to his Sicilian officials reached France¹⁸⁶ and wrote both to Louis¹⁸⁷ and to Blanche¹⁸⁸ to inform them that supplies would be made available to Alphonse de Poitiers. Louis himself wrote to thank Frederick for his preparations.¹⁸⁹ The absence of any reference in Joinville's *vita* to this proffered aid, something a man in his position must surely have had some awareness of, is an indication that Joinville was disinclined to suggest that Frederick's motives were anything but doubtful. More significant than these omissions is the Seneschal's comment that there was a commonly held suspicion that the imperial envoys who arrived at Acre in 1250, and who claimed to have been charged with the task of negotiating Louis's release, had actually been sent by the Emperor to ensure that the French remained in captivity: 'Moult de gens distrent que il ne nous feust pas mestier que les messages nous eussent trouvez en la prison, car l'en cuidoit que l'empereur eust envoie ses messages plus pour nous encombrer que pour nous delivrer'.¹⁹⁰ This remark was not to be found in the *Gesta Ludovici* or any other Dionysian source; at the same time, it was an extremely Dionysian interpretation of Frederick's motivations. While traces of Guillaume's conceit may be found in Joinville, it is worth noting that it seems unlikely that the conceit itself was central to the Seneschal's hagiography. Joinville seems to have preferred to defend his friend's sainthood on the grounds that he was a

¹⁸³ 'un Sarrazin qui estoit de la terre l'empereour', *ibid.*, § 321, p. 158.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, § 196, p. 96.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, § 198, p. 98. The Muslim leader referred to here is the Emir Fakhr ad-Dīn, the man who had negotiated with Frederick on the Sultan's behalf in 1226 and 1227 prior to the Emperor's crusade. For these negotiations: Van Cleve, 'The Crusade of Frederick II', p. 449. According to Muslim sources Frederick appears to have kept up a correspondence with the former ambassador: Abulafia, *Frederick*, p. 197.

¹⁸⁶ *Layettes*, II, no. 3562, pp. 641–42 (November 1246, Lucera); no. 3563, p. 642 (November 1246, Lucera).

¹⁸⁷ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, VI, 748–50 (July 1249).

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 746–48 (July 1249).

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 500–02 (February/March 1247).

¹⁹⁰ *Livre des saintes paroles*, § 443, p. 218.

crusader-martyr,¹⁹¹ rather than on those favoured by the Dionysians, that the King was a defender of the Church.

Alternative Fredericks?

Guillaume de Nangis sought to use Frederick as an exemplar of a *bad* ruler in order to highlight Louis as a saint-king. It was not the only image of the Emperor that developed in the years after 1270. In addition to the portrayal of Frederick as a persecutor of the Church by writers such as Bernard Gui a much more sympathetic depiction emerged in a minority of works. The Count of Toulouse, Raymond VII, had been one of Frederick's more enthusiastic supporters. His former chaplain, Guillaume de Puylaurens, provided some mitigation for the Emperor's imprisonment of the clerics in 1241 by noting that Frederick suspected that Gregory had convoked the council to act against him.¹⁹² More fundamentally, Guillaume believed that Frederick had repented on his deathbed.¹⁹³ This assessment of Frederick's character reached a northern French audience in Bernard Gui's work, where the Dominican presented it as an aside which implied that Guillaume may have been mistaken.¹⁹⁴

A less than damning account of Frederick was patronized¹⁹⁵ in the north by Baudouin d'Avesnes (1213-89). This account, which probably drew upon Primat's Latin chronicle and exists in two recensions, one composed before 1281 and the other before 1284, appeared in Hainaut during the period in which Baudouin acted as guardian for his nephew, the county's inheritor. A large passage concentrated upon Frederick's capture of the clerics but nothing was said of any harm done to them and the author underlined, erroneously, that they were released as soon as the time for the council had passed.¹⁹⁶ This moderate attitude may originate in the support Frederick lent the Avesnes dynasty in the 1240s.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹¹ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 836, 839, 885.

¹⁹² Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronique 1145-1275*, p. 170.

¹⁹³ Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronique 1145-1275*, p. 198.

¹⁹⁴ *Flores chronicorum*, p. 697.

¹⁹⁵ V. LeClerc, 'Chron[iques]. françaises de Baudouin d'Avesnes', *HLEF*, 21 (1847), 753-64 (pp. 755, 757-58).

¹⁹⁶ *Chronique attribuée à Baudouin d'Avesnes*, p. 163.

¹⁹⁷ The Avesnes brothers enjoyed an extremely difficult relationship with their mother, the Countess of Flanders, who sought to disinherit them in favour of her children by a second

The Emperor was also of interest to one of Baudouin's close relatives, a member of the neighbouring nobility of Champagne, Jean II, lord of Dampierre and of Saint-Dizier (d. 1307).

Jean de Dampierre-Saint-Dizier patronized the translation of Frederick's *De arte venandi cum avibus* into French.¹⁹⁸ Completed in 1310 for Jean's son, Guillaume,¹⁹⁹ *L'art de la chace des oisiaus* is of interest not only because it offers further indication of noble attitudes towards Frederick, but also because it was not produced in a Parisian *atelier*. Written and illuminated in the southern part of the county of Champagne it was, as Toubert has noted, the product of a milieu connected with the *mouvance capétienne* but which also enjoyed a relative autonomy.²⁰⁰ The translation was closely based upon a specific manuscript of Frederick's text.²⁰¹ This latter, which since 1623 has been conserved in the Vatican library, was almost certainly acquired by the Dampierre family as a consequence of Charles d'Anjou's conquest of the *regno*.²⁰² The text of the French version made no attempt to conceal the identity of the author. In 'translating' the illuminations, the artist, Simon d'Orléans, depicted the Emperor not only as enthroned with crown and sceptre, but with his legs crossed and making a teaching gesture.²⁰³ Does this, then, echo a more

marriage. Their position had worsened after Pope Gregory IX had declared them illegitimate. Frederick legislated to legitimize them in 1242 (as, in turn, did Innocent IV when seeking supporters): *Chronique attribuée à Baudouin d'Avesnes* p. 167, n. 11; Richard, *Louis*, p. 330.

¹⁹⁸ For Frederick's interest in falconry and his approach to writing *De arte venandi cum avibus*: Abulafia, *Frederick*, pp. 267–70. For the important place falconry occupied within northern European culture: Vale, pp. 179–84.

¹⁹⁹ For the commissioning and completion: the first and final folio of Paris, BnF, MS français, 12400. H. Toubert, 'Les enluminures du manuscrit fr. 12400', in *Federico II. De arte venandi cum avibus, L'art de la chace des oisiaus. Facsimile ed edizione critica del manoscritto fr. 12400 della Biblioteca Nazionale de France* (Naples: Electa, 1995), pp. 388–89, 390.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 389, 395.

²⁰³ BnF, MS fr. 12400, fol. 2^r. Toubert suggested that Simon (identified from the final folio) followed his Italian exemplar, Vatican, Pal. lat., MS 1071, fol. 1^v, but 'updated' the style: 'Les enluminures', p. 391.



Figure 3: Simon d'Orléans, "The Emperor Frederick II", *L'art de la chace des oisiaus*. Paris, BnF, MS français, 12400, fol. 3^r. c. 1310. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France

positive reputation enjoyed by Frederick comparable to that found in the *Récits* of the minstrel of Reims?

An indication that this was probably not the case comes from a second illumination, not based on any archetype in the Italian exemplar, in which the crowned and sceptre-wielding Frederick was depicted seated on a throne placed above the body of a fire-breathing dragon (figure 3).²⁰⁴ Although this is not the only dragon to appear in the marginalia of *L'art de la chace des oisiaus* it remains unique: it is the only dragon to be depicted on the horizontal axis of the manuscript.²⁰⁵ The connection between Frederick and the dragon was almost certainly intended to convey apocalyptic overtones and was probably a not-so-veiled reference to what was, by 1310, the somewhat dated Joachite belief that Frederick was the Antichrist.²⁰⁶ Dragons are certainly not the only figures to be added to the marginalia by the French 'translator' of the images from the Vatican manuscript but it might be speculated that the frequent recurrence of this particular figure is intended to add more than simply decoration. Given the tendency to use the dragon motif at points where new topics are introduced it might even be 'read' as a reminder of the work's provenance. In other words,

²⁰⁴ The dragon is red with a blue head. Frederick sits above the main body of the creature while two falconers stand on its extended tail. The dragon's neck contains two circular twists on the upper one of which sits a bird regarding the Emperor: BnF, MS fr. 12400, fol. 3^r (figure 3). That the ruler depicted here should be identified as Frederick II is suggested strongly by the inclusion of a note identifying the author of the work as *Frederis secons empereres de Rome de Jherusalem et de Sezille* (fol. 3^{rb}).

²⁰⁵ Dragons appear at multiple points in the manuscript. However, in all other cases they are depicted either in an initial or on the vertical axis of the manuscript in the margins or in between the columns (that is they appear with their bodies running parallel to the columns and with their tails either above or below their heads). In many instances they appear to act as markers denoting new topics. For dragons in the marginalia: BnF, MS fr. 12400, fols 3^v (spewing forth an initial), 5^v, 25^v (spewing forth an initial), 54^r (spewing forth an initial), 59^r, 77^r, 85^r, 86^r, 107^r (dragon with a woman's head), 107^v, 113^v, 150^r (spewing forth an initial), 156^r, 163^v, 172^r, 176^v. For dragons in or associated with initials: fols 21^v, 27^r, 32^r, 45^v (two intertwined dragons), 83^r (a beast with a dragon's body but the head of a different animal), 89^r, 93^r, 93^v, 95^v, 132^r, 133^r, 143^v (a dragon with a bald man's head), 154^v, 173^r.

²⁰⁶ For the significance of the dragon in Joachite thought and its connection with Frederick II in Italian illuminations: R. E. Lerner, 'Frederick II, Alive, Aloft and Allayed, in Franciscan-Joachite Eschatology', in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. by W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst, and A. Welkenhuysen (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988), pp. 359–84 (pp. 374–79). Toubert described this illumination but did not connect it with Joachite prophecy: Toubert, 'Les enluminures', p. 391.

here are points where the 'dragon' — that is Frederick II or Manfred who revised his father's text — 'speaks'. *L'art de la chace des oisiaus* does not seem to have been diffused widely in the first half of the fourteenth century,²⁰⁷ something which probably had as much to do with the unwieldy quality of the work and Frederick's idiosyncratic approach to his subject, as the issue of the author's reputation.²⁰⁸ Its existence does suggest that a layman, and one who was a committed supporter of Philippe IV in his Flemish campaigns,²⁰⁹ might adopt a quite different attitude to Frederick II than that encouraged by the Dionysians.

An eschatological interpretation of Frederick appears to have remained the province of a minority in northern France. The author of the Norman chronicle appears to have been one of very few French writers — and indeed the only compiler of chronicle history — to connect Frederick's deposition with Joachite interpretations of the Sibylline prophecy before the mid-fourteenth century: 'In hoc Imperium Romanum cessasse videtur, secundum prophetiam, ut dicitur, Sibyllae, quae ait: *Post nullus*'.²¹⁰ These comments may have been inspired by the account of Frederick and his children interpolated into the twelfth-century prophecy of the Erythraean Sibyl by a Sicilian follower of Joachim of Fiore between 1250 and 1254.²¹¹ While there is some suggestion that ideas relating Frederick to a Joachite-inspired apocalyptic role circulated in

²⁰⁷ Only three other (fifteenth-century) copies remain extant: B. Van den Abeele, 'Inspirations orientales et destinées occidentales du *De arte venandi cum avibus* de Frédéric II', in *Federico II e le nuove culture (Atti del XXXI Convegno storico internazionale Todi, 9–12 ottobre 1994)*, ed. by E. Menestò (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1995), pp. 363–91 (p. 384, n. 70).

²⁰⁸ Van den Abeele, 'Inspirations orientales et destinées occidentales', pp. 386–89.

²⁰⁹ Toubert, 'Les enlumines', p. 398.

²¹⁰ *E Chronico Normanniae* p. 214. Rech suggested that Géraud de Frachet also took an interest in Sibylline prophecy: *Géraud de Frachet: L'engagement d'un historien au XIII^e siècle*, p. 145. His view is open to question: see my comments in chapter four.

²¹¹ O. Holder-Egger, 'Italienische Prophetien des 13. Jahrhunderts', *Neues Archiv*, 15 (1890), 143–78 (pp. 165–68). For an overview of the Sibylline tradition: B. McGinn, 'Teste David cum Sibylla: The Significance of the Sibylline Tradition in the Middle Ages', in *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy*, ed. by J. Kirshner and S. F. Wemple (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 7–35. Concerning the Erythraean Sibyl in particular: B. McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), pp. 122–23 and for its re-working, p. 171.

the late-thirteenth-century University of Paris,²¹² another of those influenced by Joachim's prophecies, the Franciscan Jean de Roquetaillade, appears, in the 1340s and 1350s, to have been the first French writer to identify explicitly Frederick II and his descendants with the Antichrist.²¹³ Eschatological considerations may, however, have influenced Vincent de Beauvais's earlier decision to conclude his *Speculum historiale*, after summarizing Frederick's reign, with a discussion of the coming of the Antichrist.²¹⁴ Although Vincent was extremely influential, this particular concept does not appear to have met with great success amongst those who used the *Speculum historiale*. It found no resonance, for example, in the Saint-Denis scriptorium. Yet it was not entirely overlooked: it appeared, for example, in the *Flores* of Adam de Clermont.²¹⁵

²¹² The Parisian master Pierre de Limoges (d. 1306; also known as Pierre de la Sépière) possessed a copy of a collection of Joachite texts containing a number of marginal glosses identifying Frederick II as the object of Joachite prophecy: N. Bériou, 'Pierre de Limoges et la fin des temps', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, 98 (1986), 65–107 (pp. 76–77). As Bériou has convincingly demonstrated, these are not, however, necessarily proof of Pierre's interest in Frederick as an apocalyptic figure, and, rather than having been written by Pierre himself, almost certainly originated in a now lost exemplar he recopied. Bériou speculates that the exemplar may have been of Franciscan origin: Bériou, 'Pierre de Limoges et la fin des temps', pp. 78–82.

²¹³ R. K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), pp. 68–69; M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 321–22. For an overview of the development of earlier Italian and German Joachite tendencies to link Frederick to the Antichrist: M. Reeves, 'Joachimist Influences on the Idea of a Last World Emperor', *Traditio*, 17 (1961), 323–70 (pp. 325–28). For Jean de Roquetaillade in the context of this tradition: Reeves, 'Joachimist Influences on the Idea of a Last World Emperor', pp. 328–29.

²¹⁴ *Speculum historiale*, bk xxxi, chaps cvi–cxxix, pp. 1323–34.

²¹⁵ *Excerpta E Floribus Historiarum auctore Adamo Claromontensi*, ed. by J. D. Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF*, xxi, 75–79 (p. 77). For Adam's use of Vincent: A. Nadeau, 'Deux abrégés du *Speculum historiale* par Adam de Clermont: les *Flores historiarum* et le *Speculum gestorum mundi*', in *Vincent de Beauvais: Intentions et réceptions d'une oeuvre encyclopédique au Moyen-Âge (Actes du XIV^e Colloque de l'Institut d'études médiévales, organisé conjointement par l'Atelier Vincent de Beauvais (A.R.Te.M., Université de Nancy II) et l'Institut d'études médiévales (Université de Montréal) 27–30 avril 1988)*, ed. by S. Lusignan, M. Paulmier-Foucart, and A. Nadeau, *Cahiers d'études médiévales. Cahier spécial*, 4 (Paris: Vrin, 1990), pp. 413–37 (pp. 424–30).

Adam de Clermont's case is particularly revealing. His patron was the Bishop of Clermont, Gui de la Tour du Pin (bishop from 1250, d. 1286).²¹⁶ Like Vincent, Gui was a Dominican²¹⁷ and it seems likely that, although its impact was greatest amongst the Franciscans,²¹⁸ the inclusion of this apocalyptic theme in the works of Vincent and Adam reflected a particularly mendicant concern with Joachite prophecy.²¹⁹ Adam, for example, took a particular interest in Joachim's followers.²²⁰ Equally, Joachim was of interest to Jean de Mailly (d. c. 1254–60), a Dominican at the Metz convent.²²¹ As Lerner noted, the period 1247 to 1260 was one of intense Joachitism which produced a great deal of anti-imperial feeling.²²² Beyond the case of Jean de Dampierre-Saint-Dizier and the mooted appearance of the theme in Vincent's *Speculum* and Adam's chronicle, thirteenth-century copies of which were to be found at Notre-Dame de Paris and the Carmelite convent of Clermont,²²³ there are few indications that an eschatological interpretation of Frederick's reign spread outside the mendicant orders in France.²²⁴ One possible case is the circulation

²¹⁶ Adam, 'clerico domini episcopi Claromontensis', completed his work prior to 1270: Nadeau 'Deux abrégés du *Speculum historiale*', p. 437.

²¹⁷ *Gallia Christiana, in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, 16 vols (Paris: Coignard, 1715–1865), II, 277–80; P. C. F. Daunou, 'Gui de la Tour du Pin, évêq. de Clermont. 1250–1286', *HLF*, 21 (1847), 632–34. For a recent summary of Gui's career with particularly attention paid to his role as a patron: Rouse and Rouse, I, 51–58.

²¹⁸ McGinn, *Visions*, pp. 159–60.

²¹⁹ Concerning the impact of Joachite ideas within the Dominican order: Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, pp. 161–74.

²²⁰ *Excerpta E Floribus Historiarum auctore Adamo Claromontensi*, p. 78, n. 12.

²²¹ M. Chazan, 'Écrire l'histoire au XIII^e siècle à Metz: la chronique de Jean de Mailly', *Les Cahiers lorrains* (1991), 205–38 (p. 233).

²²² Lerner, 'Frederick II, Alive', pp. 359–84. Concerning Joachite attitudes towards the Hohenstaufen: McGinn, *Visions*, pp. 170–71. More generally: M. Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future: A Medieval Study in Historical Thinking*, rev. edn (Yeoil: Sutton Publishing, 1999).

²²³ Three further manuscripts are fourteenth-century, one of which belonged to the abbey of Saint-Amand, Sanderus: P. Fournier, 'Adam de Clermont', in *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, ed. by J. Balteau, M. Barroux, and M. Prevost, 20– vols (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1933), I, 481.

²²⁴ It is possible that even Jean de Dampierre-Saint-Dizier's translation may be linked to the mendicant orders. Toubert suggests that the figure depicted in BnF, MS fr. 12400, fol. 1^r holding a closed book and situated to one side of a figure who appears to be the scribe should be identified as the translator and is probably a Benedictine (to the other

of an account of the coming of the Antichrist as part of a French compilation commissioned by *un grant baron de France* (c. 1326–28),²²⁵ later revised and expanded by its original author (c. 1330).²²⁶ This latter drew upon Vincent's work but, notably, was probably originally of Dominican authorship.²²⁷ Although some writers, such as the Soissons continuator of William of Tyre's chronicle, might occasionally report apocalyptic mutterings in connection with Frederick,²²⁸ there is little to suggest that the association of Frederick with apocalyptic themes gained widespread acceptance: the Cistercian Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, for example, went so far, when discussing Frederick's initial abandonment of his crusade, to cite and dismiss a Franciscan prophecy concerning the coming of the Antichrist.²²⁹

side of the scribe a layman is depicted holding a falcon. He is almost certainly intended to be Jean, the commissioner of the work): 'Les enluminures', p. 388. I would suggest that the grey habit and bare feet of the 'translator' may in fact indicate he is a Franciscan. There is, in any case, a clear difference between the scribe and the translator: the former is shod and wears a brown habit. On the other hand, the monk identified by Toubert as the translator on fol. 59^v (Toubert, 'Les enluminures', p. 393) wears a much darker habit and may indeed be intended to be a Benedictine.

²²⁵ Couderc, 'Manuel d'histoire de Philippe VI', pp. 426–27, who proposed this baron was Philippe de Valois. Concerning this possibility: A. Surprenant, "Unes petites croniques abregees sur Vincent": nouvelle analyse du manuel dit "de Philippe VI de Valois", in *Vincent de Beauvais: Intentions et réceptions d'une oeuvre encyclopédique au Moyen-Âge (Actes du XIV^e Colloque de l'Institut d'études médiévales, organisé conjointement par l'Atelier Vincent de Beauvais (A.R.Te.M., Université de Nancy II) et l'Institut d'études médiévales (Université de Montréal) 27–30 avril 1988)*, ed. by S. Lusignan, M. Paulmier-Foucart, and A. Nadeau, Cahiers d'études médiévales, Cahier spécial, 4 (Paris: Vrin, 1990), pp. 439–66 (pp. 444–45, 454–66). The section 1275–1328 is edited under the title: *Fragment d'une chronique anonyme, finissant en M.CCC.XXVIII, et continuée jusqu'en M.CCC.XL, puis jusqu'en M.CCC.LXXXIII*, ed. by J. D. Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF*, xxi, 146–58.

²²⁶ Couderc, 'Manuel d'histoire de Philippe VI', pp. 424–25. There are fifteen extant copies of the first recension and seven of second: Couderc, 'Manuel d'histoire de Philippe VI', p. 417. The second drew on Bernard Gui's catalogue of French kings: Surprenant, 'Unes petites croniques abregees sur Vincent', p. 449.

²²⁷ Surprenant, 'Unes petites croniques abregees sur Vincent', pp. 448, 454.

²²⁸ According to the continuator the papal vacancy before the election of Pope Innocent IV was interpreted by the Jews to be a sign of the fulfilment of the prophecies of the book of Daniel: *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, chap. xxxvii, p. 559.

²²⁹ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 920. For Aubri's attitude to prophecy: Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 673–74.

History was, as Bernard Guenée has argued, something which the majority of literate members of society rarely knew from acquaintance with more than one text.²³⁰ In consequence, the image of the last Hohenstaufen emperor amongst literate inhabitants of northern France was largely dependent upon the individual text they had before them. The perpetuation of the Emperor's presence in the first half of the fourteenth century was, particularly amongst the laity, due in large part to the earlier efforts of Guillaume de Nangis: the *Grandes Chroniques* compilations which drew upon his work frequently included material relating to Frederick and disseminated this from the Île-de-France to Normandy, to Cambrai, and as far as the duchy of Brabant.²³¹ Amongst the non-literate, memory of the Emperor almost certainly faded faster. Although an image of Frederick was preserved in some works conceived with oral presentation in mind, such as the chronicle of Philippe Mousket and the *Récits* of the minstrel of Reims, others, such as the chronicles of Guillaume Guiart and Saint-Magloire, simply took less or no interest in the Emperor.

The multiple images of Frederick which developed in northern France were the consequence of the multiple contexts in which he was considered. The minstrel of Reims and Guillaume de Nangis both developed conceptions intimately connected with concerns specific to the northern French environment, in the case of the minstrel, the distaste of the French baronage for ecclesiastical interference in secular affairs and in the case of Guillaume, the aim of promoting Louis IX's sanctity. In contrast, Bernard Gui and Vincent de Beauvais disseminated an image particularly sympathetic to a papal perspective and Simon d'Orléans infused the Emperor with Joachite eschatological expectations. The differences between these concerns led to dissimilar and even contradictory portraits of the Staufer emperor.

For many across northern France, such as Pierre Honoré, Frederick would have remained little more than a name, albeit one associated with what seems to have been universal suspicion. At the same time Frederick's deposition, if not of interest to the compilers of Pierre Honoré's *Grandes Chroniques*, was still a topic which attracted widespread attention in France. There seems little amongst the immediate concerns of northern French writers to explain this

²³⁰ Guenée, *Histoire et culture*, pp. 324–28.

²³¹ For pre-1375 dissemination: B. Guenée, 'Histoire d'un succès', in *Les Grandes chroniques de France. Reproduction intégrale en fac-similé des miniatures de Fouquet. Manuscrit français 6465 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris*, ed. by F. Avril, M.-T. Gousset, and B. Guenée (Paris: Lebaud, 1987), pp. 83–138 (p. 130).

extraordinary interest and why, particularly, the topic was considered worthy of remark by many who otherwise displayed little interest in the Empire and its rulers. Although Frederick's successors did not enjoy the last Hohenstaufen emperor's notoriety, certain events connected with their reigns attracted similarly surprising levels of interest in northern France.

AFTER FREDERICK — ALLIES AND ENEMIES

Contemporary events in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth-century Empire were rarely of interest to French writers. While the northern Italian imperial lands received some little attention, largely in consequence of Philippe de Valois's activities in the peninsula in the 1320s, only in one or two rare instances were specific events that took place in the German lands of the Empire considered worthy of remark. Unique to the Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques* prepared in the 1340s, the report of a massacre of Jews in Magdeburg was an exceptional case;¹ Girard d'Auvergne's account of the appearance of a pretender claiming to be Frederick II and his subsequent burning by Rudolf of Habsburg was similarly unusual.²

Girard d'Auvergne's account of the pseudo-Frederick was probably a reference to the pretender who first appeared in Cologne in 1284, became established in Neuss, and was later burnt for heresy.³ Girard prepared the first draft of his abbreviated history for the Abbot of Cluny, Ives de Vergi (1257–74; also known as Ives de Poison) in 1272,⁴ but he also enjoyed, like Adam de Clermont, the patronage of Gui de la Tour du Pin: while begun at Clement IV's

¹ *Grandes Chroniques*, viii, 192–93.

² *Abbreviatione Historiae Figuralis* (continuation to 1288), p. 219.

³ O. Redlich, *Rudolf von Habsburg. Das Deutsche Reich nach dem Untergange des alten Kaisertums* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1903), pp. 532–38; N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, rev. edn (London: Pimlico, 2004), pp. 113–15. On the late-medieval phenomenon of political impostors: G. Lecuppre, *L'Imposture politique au Moyen Âge: la seconde vie des rois* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2005).

⁴ L. Delisle, 'Le Chroniqueur Girard d'Auvergne ou d'Anvers', *Journal des Savants* (1900), 232–42; 285–94 (p. 285).

request, Girard's *Historia figuralis* was completed at Gui's.⁵ It may be the Dominican Bishop of Clermont's interest in apocalyptic themes that gave rise to the inclusion of Frederick's 'resurrection' in a later draft of Girard's history. In any case, this account remained unique amongst chronicle histories prepared in the French kingdom. Girard's work seems to have enjoyed only a limited circulation⁶ although, as the single extant manuscript of his *Historia figuralis* was probably copied in northern France and possibly belonged to the abbey of Saint-Martin in Tournai,⁷ his influence may have reached beyond the Auvergne and remains difficult to gauge.

The Empire and its rulers did not pique the curiosity of Guillaume Guiart,⁸ nor that of the thirteenth-century Prior of Saint-Martial of Limoges, Hélié Autenc (d. 1284), and his anonymous continuators,⁹ nor that of several anonymous chronicles written in the mid-fourteenth century.¹⁰ When these authors chose to address events beyond their own locality most turned their focus upon England and the Flemish war. The annalist of the Norman abbey of Ouche, for example, had much to say concerning the death of Simon de Montfort and the reign of Edward I, but did not trouble to note the election of the Emperor Henry VII.¹¹ While limited in the accounts they offered of events

⁵ Delisle, 'Girard d'Auvergne', pp. 235-36. It is unclear whether or not Girard was a canon of Clermont. Cf. *Repertorium Fontium Historiae Medii Aevi*, 11 vols (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1962-), v, 147.

⁶ Six manuscripts of Girard's abbreviated history remain extant, all late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth-century: Delisle, 'Girard d'Auvergne', pp. 287-89; L. Delisle, 'Un nouveau manuscrit de l'*Historia figuralis* de Girard d'Anvers', *Journal des Savants* (1906), 425-26.

⁷ Delisle, 'Girard d'Auvergne', p. 239. The *Historia figuralis* remains unedited.

⁸ *La Branche des Roys Lingnages*, lines 12049-21510, pp. 210-300.

⁹ *Anonymum S. Martialis Chronicon ab anno M. CC. LXXIII ad ann. M. CCC. XV.*, in *Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, ed. by H. Duplès-Agier (Paris: Société d'Histoire de France, 1874), pp. 172-83. Duplès-Agier proposed that the portion of this chronicle for the years 1274-84 was the work of Hélié Autenc after which it was continued by anonymous monks up until 1315: *Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, pp. lviii-lix.

¹⁰ Extant in one manuscript and probably Parisian: *Chronique anonyme finissant en M.CCC.LVI*, pp. 137-40. Also *Ex anonymo regum Franciae chronico, circa annum M.CCC.XLII scripto*, ed. by N. de Wailly and L. Delisle, in *RHGF*, xxii, 16-21.

¹¹ *Ex Uticensis monasterii annalibus et necrologio*, pp. 481, 483.

within the Empire, French sources were not entirely devoid of references to would-be imperial rulers after Frederick II.

For writers of universal histories, such as Guillaume de Nangis and Jean de Saint-Victor, there was a self-evident reason, connected with the genre in which they were writing, for the inclusion of material relating to the rulers of the German lands of the Empire. It is less clear why these rulers should have proved of interest to many other writers and why some, in particular, received considerable attention. Undoubtedly, some explanation lies in a desire to recount the interaction of these rulers with the Capetian-Valois kings, yet such an explanation seems inadequate when it becomes clear that such interaction is the least prominent feature of the majority of accounts. Mireille Chazan's study, limited to four universal histories, is the only foray into the otherwise unexplored territory of northern French attitudes to these rulers.¹² With the exception of William of Holland, and to a lesser extent Ludwig of Bavaria, these rulers did not enjoy the multiple images, and in many cases the longevity, in northern French thought of their Hohenstaufen predecessor. Yet in common with Frederick II, perceptions of these rulers were, in most cases, largely shaped by factors specific to the northern French environment. A further similarity shared with the last Staufer emperor was the important role played by the abbey of Saint-Denis in formulating certain of these images and, consequently, their frequent connection with the interests of the Capetian-Valois kings.

Innocent's Men

Little doubt can exist concerning contemporary Capetian attitudes towards the anti-kings, Heinrich Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia, and William, Count of Holland, promoted through the auspices of Innocent IV in the wake of the council of Lyon.¹³ The brevity of Heinrich's reign (22 May 1246–16 February 1247) might be considered sufficient reason to account for the lack of extant

¹² M. E. Franke, *Kaiser Heinrich VII. im Spiegel der Historiographie: Eine faktenkritische und quellenkundliche Untersuchung ausgewählter Geschichtsschreiber der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, *Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters*, 9 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992) is limited to Henry VII's portrayal in German and Italian sources.

¹³ Stürner, II, 553–54, 567.

evidence of relations with the Capetian court.¹⁴ A similar absence of evidence for relations between the Capetians and William is more surprising as the Count laid claim to the kingship of the Romans for over eight years (3 October 1247–28 January 1256).

While some material concerning William appears in the *Layettes du Trésor des chartes* this largely relates to the county of Burgundy and it seems probable that it entered the royal archives only after the county's acquisition by Philippe IV's son, Philippe de Poitiers.¹⁵ Although William termed Louis *karissimus frater et amicus nostri* in two letters in 1249, this phrase may reflect reality less than it does an attempt by William to impress the imperial audience to whom he was writing.¹⁶ Both letters concerned the county of Namur and revised the settlement Louis had negotiated with Marguerite, countess of Flanders and Hainaut, in 1246.¹⁷ Louis, in Cyprus in 1249, took no part in this revision and notably returned to the principles of his 1246 settlement when, after William's death, he negotiated the *Dit de Péronne* (24 September 1256).¹⁸ The striking feature of these years is the evidence for Louis IX's and Blanche de Castille's continued recognition of the Hohenstaufen.

Not only did Louis make numerous efforts to negotiate a settlement between Innocent IV and Frederick, he agreed in 1247, at the Emperor's request, to respect the rights of both Frederick and his son, Conrad, in the

¹⁴ No evidence for relations appears in: MGH, *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae*, 18, pt. 1, *Heinrici Rasponis et Wilhelmi de Hollandia diplomata inde ab a. MCCXLVI usque ad a. MCCLII*, ed. by D. Hägermann and J. C. Kruisheer (Hannover: Hahn, 1989), nos 1–16, pp. 3–20; *Layettes*, III.

¹⁵ *Layettes*, III, no. 3934, p. 123; no. 3935, pp. 123–24; no. 3958, p. 141; no. 4186, pp. 250–51; no. 4187, p. 251; no. 4188, pp. 251–52. William's grant of the duchy of Méranie to Friedrich, burgrave of Nuremberg, appears in the *Layettes* because of its connection with affairs in the county: *Layettes*, III, no. 3746, pp. 56–57. In 1248, Otto III, Duke of Méranie and Count of Burgundy, designated his daughter Alix heir to the county. William did not accept this decision and conferred the inheritance on another of Otto's daughters, the wife of the burgrave. He eventually sold the burgrave's rights in 1251: Richard, *Louis*, p. 342.

¹⁶ MGH, *Diplomata regum et imperatorum*, no. 88, pp. 126–28 (27 April 1249, Mainz); no. 89, pp. 128–29 (27 April 1249, Mainz).

¹⁷ For Louis's settlement and the events leading up to William's actions: Richard, *Louis*, pp. 329–31.

¹⁸ Richard, *Louis*, pp. 333, 337.

kingdom of Jerusalem.¹⁹ Once in Palestine Louis did not fulfil Frederick's request to re-instate the imperial officials who had been chased out of castles and towns in 1243,²⁰ but he did little to undermine Hohenstaufen claims. According to Joinville, when the French were asked by their Egyptian captors if they were willing to hand over the fortresses of the barons of Outremer, the Count of Brittany responded, 'que il n'i avoit pooir, car en les tenoit de l'empereor d'Alemaigne qui lor vivoit'.²¹ In 1251 Blanche, regent in Louis's absence, strongly supported by many French barons, forbade the participation of French knights in the crusade that the Pope was attempting to foster against Conrad in northern Germany.²² When Innocent offered the Sicilian crown to Charles d'Anjou in early 1252, Louis's brother was dissuaded from accepting it and from leading a crusade to displace Conrad in Sicily.²³

The reluctance of the Capetians to support Innocent's policies in 1251 and 1252 almost certainly had its roots primarily in a desire to avoid diverting potential resources from Louis's crusade, yet it is striking that it was only after the death of Conrad (d. 1254) that there is even a suggestion that the Capetians accorded William a degree of recognition. Louis's *Dit de Péronne* settlement, in which Jean and Baudouin d'Avesnes agreed to renounce any rights that they had been invested with in Namur by the German king, implicitly acknowledged William's position.²⁴ A more substantial suggestion that good relations existed between Louis and William comes from the minstrel of Reims who reported that Charles d'Anjou was advised: 'il a amour entre le roi de France, vostre frere, et entre le roi d'Alemaigne [William]: si ne seroit mie avenant que vous commencissiez la mellée ne brissiez l'aliance'.²⁵ Given the notorious factual unreliability of the minstrel,²⁶ that the words *ne brissiez l'aliance* are absent from at least one version of the *Récits*, and the absence of any further evidence, the warmth of these relations may be doubted.²⁷

¹⁹ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vi, 501 (February/March, 1247).

²⁰ Richard, *Louis*, p. 244.

²¹ *Livre des saintes paroles*, § 336, pp. 164–65.

²² *Chronica majora*, v, 260–61. Berger, *Louis et Innocent*, pp. 370–72.

²³ Berger, *Louis et Innocent*, pp. 396–409; Richard, *Louis*, pp. 459–60.

²⁴ *Layettes*, iii, no. 4292, pp. 324–25.

²⁵ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxxix, p. 219.

²⁶ *Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle*, trans. by Levine, pp. 3–5.

²⁷ Compare with Richard, *Louis*, p. 332.

The enthusiasm with which certain lay and ecclesiastical writers addressed Heinrich's and William's reigns differed markedly from the attitude displayed by Louis and Blanche. Lay writers, in particular, focused a good deal of attention upon William. This interest issued specifically from the Count of Holland's deep involvement in a particular regional dispute. The chronicle prepared under the patronage of Baudouin d'Avesnes noted William's election and his early efforts to establish himself,²⁸ his violent dispute with the Countess Marguerite over the lordship of Walcheren and the islands of Zeeland,²⁹ and his death at the hands of the Frisians.³⁰ One of the most striking elements of this account is the effort the chronicler took to emphasize William's legitimacy.

Although the initial unwillingness of the electoral princes to participate in the papal plan to replace Frederick II and the continued resistance of many, including the town of Aachen, were highlighted, Baudouin's chronicler made clear that William was elected by *la plus grant partie des prinches*.³¹ This stands in marked contrast with the election of the erroneously identified, but in any case short-lived, *frere landegrave de Duringhes* who was elected only by the prelates.³² Any lingering doubts concerning William's legitimacy were dispelled by the writer's decision to include the phrase, 'La mort l'empereour Fedri, et le regne le conte Guillaume de Hollande', in the title of his chapter.³³ Given that, as I remarked in the previous chapter, the chronicler's attitude towards Frederick had been generally positive, indeed even this chapter title might be interpreted to suggest that William's reign began only after Frederick's death, his attitude to the rights of Frederick's son seems somewhat paradoxical.

The Avesnes dynasty certainly had cause to be grateful to Frederick: he had found in favour of their legitimacy and supported Jean and Baudouin in the face of the attempts by their estranged mother, the Countess Marguerite, to disinherit them.³⁴ They also possessed good reasons for defending William's legitimacy. Jean d'Avesnes, Count of Hainaut until his death in 1257, had

²⁸ *Chronique attribuée a Baudoin d'Avesnes*, p. 171.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 174–75.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 175. This latter, like the dispute with Marguerite, is absent from certain manuscripts.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

³² *Ibid.* p. 171. For the importance attached in the northern French milieu to election by a majority see chapter eight.

³³ *Chronique attribuée a Baudoin d'Avesnes*, p. 171.

³⁴ Richard, *Louis*, p. 330.

married William's sister. Once King of the Romans, William had strongly supported the Avesnes: in July 1252, having deprived the Countess Marguerite of all her imperial fiefs, William invested the same fiefs in Jean. It is even possible that William had intended to designate Jean as his successor in the Empire.³⁵ It is in this context, where William had proved the strongest advocate of Avesnes interests, that the emphasis placed upon his rights should be seen, particularly when he exercised them as king of the Romans in his dispute with Marguerite: 'Mais puis que li quens Guillaumes fut esleus a roi, il ne voloit obeir a la contesse de Flandres'.³⁶

An incident that Baudouin's chronicler did not choose to touch upon was the confrontation between William and Charles d'Anjou. By enfeoffing Charles d'Anjou with the county of Hainaut, the Countess Marguerite had hoped to reassert her authority over the region. Although Charles successfully overran the county and evicted the Avesnes brothers he found himself, in April-May 1254, confronted by a large army assembled by William. After a tense stand-off William appears to have backed down.³⁷ It is possible that Baudouin's chronicler passed over the incident in silence both because Charles' successful occupation of the county was particularly galling for the Avesnes and because it did not show their protector at his most effective. This incident, however, formed the core of an account of William's activities written a decade earlier by the minstrel of Reims.³⁸

Differing views of the Avesnes acted as the point from which two distinct recensions of the minstrel's *Récits* developed. The original work appears to have condemned the Avesnes, and thus William who had lent them his support. A revision in approximately 1295 made strenuous efforts to modify the portrait of Jean d'Avesnes, in particular by erasing an allegorical chapter and re-writing his death.³⁹ These efforts also resulted in a more positive portrait of William's intervention in Hainaut and of his own death, the latter now summed up: *dont ce fu damages*, rather than dismissed as *ainsi gaaingne qui mal brace*.⁴⁰ This revised version appears to have enjoyed the greater

³⁵ Richard, *Louis*, p. 331.

³⁶ *Chronique attribuée a Baudouin d'Avesnes*, p. 174.

³⁷ C. Duvivier, *Les influences française et germanique en Belgique au XIII^e siècle. La querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre jusqu'à la mort de Jean d'Avesnes (1257)*, 2 vols (Brussels: Falk, 1894), 1, 235–51; Richard, *Louis*, pp. 331–32.

³⁸ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxxvii–xl, pp. 202–23.

³⁹ Tappan, 'The MSS of the *Récits*', p. 74.

⁴⁰ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxxix, p. 220.

success⁴¹ and its portrait of William was perpetuated by the *Anciennes chroniques de Flandre* which appears to have employed this version as a source in the mid- to late-fourteenth century.⁴² William's claim to the Roman kingship, although implicitly accepted, remained somewhat tangential to both traditions and Heinrich Raspe found no place in either. It was amongst clerical writers that, for reasons altogether unconnected with the Avesnes, Heinrich's and William's position was addressed more directly.

An interest in either Heinrich or William remained rare amongst French writers. The brief note of William's siege of Aachen that appears in the thirteenth-century account preserved in Paris, BnF, MS français, 17203, possibly of Parisian provenance and connected with the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Près,⁴³ is, for example, unusual.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, for those who sought to uphold the papal position in the struggle with the Hohenstaufen, the legitimacy of both anti-kings was never in question. These included, in the fourteenth century, the papal familiar Bernard Gui⁴⁵ and, earlier, the Soissons continuator of William of Tyre, who provided one of the lengthier accounts in the northern French milieu of the reigns of the two anti-kings. This included a description of Heinrich's conflict with Conrad of Hohenstaufen and William's siege of Aachen, the latter account noting, in particular, the cardinal the Pope sent to assist William by preaching a crusade.⁴⁶ In the 1270s defenders of the papal position also included those in the employ of Gui de la Tour du Pin. The efforts of the Bishop of Clermont to establish an historical school⁴⁷ seem to have been made with at least the partial intention of ingratiating himself with Pope Gregory X.⁴⁸ Girard d'Auvergne highlighted the election and succession

⁴¹ Six out of the ten extant manuscripts give the pro-Avesnes version: Tappan, 'The MSS of the *Récits*', p. 73.

⁴² *Extraits d'une chronique anonyme intitulée Anciennes chroniques de Flandre*, ed. by N. de Wailly and L. Delisle, in *RHGF*, xxii, 329–429 (338–41).

⁴³ O. Holder-Egger, *MGH SS*, 26, p. 610.

⁴⁴ *Fragment anonyme du XIII^e siècle*, ed. by N. de Wailly, L. Delisle and C.-M.-G. B. Jourdain, in *RHGF*, xxiii, 134–35 (p. 135).

⁴⁵ *Flores chronicorum*, p. 696.

⁴⁶ *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, chap. xxxviii, p. 560; chap. xxxix, pp. 560–61.

⁴⁷ Nadeau, 'Deux abrégés du *Speculum historiale*', pp. 417–20.

⁴⁸ Nadeau, 'Deux abrégés du *Speculum historiale*', p. 437. Adam de Clermont's chronicle was dedicated to Pope Gregory X in 1271. Girard d'Auvergne dedicated his *Historia figuralis* to Gregory in the following year: Delisle, 'Girard d'Auvergne', p. 236.

of both anti-kings in the wake of Frederick's deposition.⁴⁹ For Adam de Clermont, another of Bishop Gui's protégés, matters were similarly clear cut: Frederick was condemned and Heinrich elected in his place and later succeeded by William.⁵⁰ Frederick's displacement was reinforced not simply by the note of Heinrich's and William's succession but by the simple yet powerful use of William's reign to date the death of the former emperor: 'Regnante vero Wilekino de Hollandia, obiit Fredericus'.⁵¹ A second group for whom Heinrich and William were difficult to ignore were the compilers of universal history, although even amongst these writers at least one, Géraud de Frachet, seems to have taken little interest in either.

Amongst northern French compilers of universal history, only Guillaume de Nangis accorded unconditional support akin to that of pro-papal writers to the men Innocent had chosen to replace Frederick.⁵² A clear sign of Guillaume's position was the decision to adopt both Heinrich's and William's 'imperial' years in his system of dating.⁵³ Aubri de Trois-Fontaines,⁵⁴ Vincent de Beauvais, Jean de Mailly, Geoffroi de Collon, and Jean de Saint-Victor, although they acknowledged the succession of the anti-kings, offered less enthusiastic endorsement. Vincent implied that Heinrich's position was different from that of Frederick: although Heinrich was elected *cum assensu et favore summi Pontificis*,⁵⁵ this period remained, for Vincent, one of imperial vacancy⁵⁶ and William's reign was simply ignored. Vincent's contemporary and fellow Dominican, Jean de Mailly, recorded both Frederick's deposition and the election of first Heinrich and later William. Mireille Chazan has suggested that Jean's personal circumstances, as an inhabitant of Metz, led him to adopt a non-committal air. Metz was divided in the papal-imperial dispute: the city itself

⁴⁹ *Abbreviatione Historiae Figuralis*, p. 215.

⁵⁰ *Excerpta E Floribus Historiarum auctore Adamo Claromontensi*, p. 78. Adam's misdating of Henry's reign to four years was certainly the source for the same mistake in Girard's work and may also explain Bernard Gui's similar error.

⁵¹ *Excerpta E Floribus Historiarum auctore Adamo Claromontensi*, p. 79.

⁵² Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 199, 201.

⁵³ Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 424, 632, 680.

⁵⁴ When Aubri revised his text in the 1250s he interpolated a note that Elizabeth of Brunswick was the wife of 'Guilelmi Romanorum regis' and that Heinrich had been elected *in regem Romanorum*: respectively, *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, pp. 870, 950.

⁵⁵ *Speculum historiale*, bk xxxi, chap. i, p. 1286.

⁵⁶ Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 632.

supported Frederick but its bishop had declared himself in favour of the Pope.⁵⁷ Geoffroi de Collon appears to have adopted a similarly ambiguous attitude although for less obvious reasons as he was clearly no supporter of the Hohenstaufen.⁵⁸ Jean de Saint-Victor drew attention to the fact that Heinrich's succession had not been by the consent of the princes, something which he considered a necessary part of the mechanism for the proper selection of a ruler of the Empire.⁵⁹

The recognition Guillaume de Nangis accorded to both Heinrich and William was almost certainly the fruit of his desire to vilify Frederick II rather than any particular desire to uphold Innocent's actions. Guillaume's decision to include a note of the elections of both anti-kings in the *Gesta Ludovici*, events which might otherwise be considered somewhat anomalous in a life of Louis IX, seems best accounted for by their indirect contribution to further highlighting Frederick's defiance of the papacy.⁶⁰ The first recension of Guillaume's universal chronicle did little more than repeat his earlier comments. Guillaume's approach proved influential in the Saint-Denis scriptorium: the *Gesta's* comments were incorporated first into its French translation,⁶¹ and later into several Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques*.⁶² That the compilers of Pierre Honoré's *Grandes Chroniques* chose to exclude Guillaume's notices concerning

⁵⁷ Chazan, 'Écrire l'histoire [...] Jean de Mailly', p. 229. Chazan questioned whether it is appropriate to classify Jean's work as universal history: 'Écrire l'histoire [...] Jean de Mailly' p. 233.

⁵⁸ *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 520.

⁵⁹ Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 632, n. 237, and see my comments in chapter eight. The absence of a critical edition of this part of the *Memoriale historiarum* makes it difficult to judge Jean's attitude to William.

⁶⁰ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, pp. 352, 354.

⁶¹ *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, pp. 353, 355.

⁶² *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 49, 52; *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 112, 116–17. Dionysian works tend to confuse Heinrich's name with his title of landgrave. The source of the confusion may lie in Primat's decision to omit part of his source when translating Rigord's account of the death of Philip of Swabia: 'En cel an, uns cuens palatins, qui en langue d'alemant est apelez *Endegraves*, occist l'empereor Henri [sic]': *Grandes Chroniques*, vi, 281–82. Cf. 'Eodem anno, quidam comes palatinus qui lingua eorum *Landagrava* vocabatur, [id est comes palatii,] Philippum Romanum imperatorem interfecit': Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, ed. and trans. with an introduction by É. Carpentier, G. Pon, and Y. Chauvin in *Rigord. Histoire de Philippe Auguste* (Paris: CNRS, 2006), chap. 159, p. 400 (material omitted by Primat in brackets). For the reasons why Rigord's substitution of 'Henry' for 'Philip' may have been intentional see chapter eight.

Heinrich and William is an indication of both disinterest in the anti-kings and possibly a further sign that Frederick's vilification was a theme of less interest beyond the abbey. It seems likely that this exclusion stemmed from a conscious decision: material relating to both anti-kings was readily available in the compilers's probable source, Guillaume's universal chronicle. While its interest in Heinrich remained limited, the Saint-Denis scriptorium produced two versions of the Count of Holland's reign.

Primat included a lengthy account of the confrontation that took place between Charles d'Anjou and William in his Latin chronicle.⁶³ Guillaume, who wrote within a decade of Primat's death and used his fellow Dionysian's Latin chronicle as a source for both his *Gesta Ludovici* and the first recension of his universal chronicle,⁶⁴ chose to pass over this incident in silence.⁶⁵ Guillaume retained a brief note of Charles' occupation of Hainaut in his *Gesta* but only as an aside inserted into a later incident.⁶⁶ Guillaume's brief comment concerning Charles' Hainaut venture made no reference to William. The impression that the latter had had no role in events was strengthened by Guillaume's decision to give a notice of William's death some time before discussing the Angevin occupation of the county.⁶⁷ The explanation for this particular piece of selective presentation lay, most probably, in a desire to avoid giving a full account of what was an embarrassing incident for Charles and to avoid casting one of Frederick's opponents in a negative light. Guillaume's version was incorporated into French accounts produced and popularized by Saint-Denis,⁶⁸ although Primat's version continued to circulate in the second recension of Guillaume's

⁶³ *Chronique de Primat*, pp. 11–12.

⁶⁴ H. Brosien, 'Wilhelm von Nangie und Primat', *Neues Archiv*, 4 (1879), 427–509 (pp. 501–03); Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 102. Cf. Delisle, 'Mémoire [...] Guillaume de Nangis', pp. 293–94.

⁶⁵ Géraud's edition of Guillaume's chronicle includes an account of Charles' attempted annexation and his confrontation with William: *Chronique latine*, 1, 212–14. This account is common to all but one of the extant manuscripts used by Géraud: *Chronique latine*, 1, p. 212, n. 1. The exception (BnF, MS français, 5703) is the manuscript considered representative of the chronicle's first recension: Delisle, 'Mémoire [...] Guillaume de Nangis', p. 297.

⁶⁶ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, pp. 390–92.

⁶⁷ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, p. 390.

⁶⁸ *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, pp. 391–93; *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 97–99. Charles' involvement in Hainaut was further reduced in *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 178–81.

universal chronicle⁶⁹ and in a translation of Primat's Latin chronicle prepared in the second quarter of the fourteenth century by a Hospitaller of Saint-Jacques du Haut-Pas, Jean de (or du) Vignay, at the request of Philippe VI's queen, Jeanne de Bourgogne.⁷⁰

Heinrich Raspe and William of Holland received very little attention from writers in northern France. Heinrich's short reign was endorsed by papal apologists and Guillaume de Nangis and noted by the majority of those who compiled universal histories. For most in the northern French milieu, if Heinrich was anything at all, it was probably the slightly ambiguous figure of the *Speculum historiale*. William was a slightly different case. Although for many he would have been cast in much the same light as Heinrich, for the lay audiences of the *Récits* of the minstrel, Primat's chronicle, and the chronicle of Baudouin d'Avesnes he would have been a much more prominent figure. To the audiences of such works, William would have appeared either the heroic champion of the Avesnes or, as he would have been for Jeanne de Bourgogne, the villainous opponent of Charles d'Anjou.

Richard of Cornwall and the Castilian Prism

It is rare to come across a topic, least of all one connected with the Empire, in which an essentially uniform view predominated in France; the case of Richard of Cornwall's kingship, therefore, requires particular explanation. Between 1257 and his death in 1272, Richard's claim to rule the Empire was contested by Alfonso X of Castile, yet when Alfonso was mentioned at all in the French cultural milieu he was roundly dismissed as a usurper. That it was quite possible to construe events differently is evident from, for example, the work of Ptolemy of Lucca,⁷¹ yet, almost without exception, Richard was considered by northern French writers to be the legitimate ruler of the German lands of the Empire.

⁶⁹ *Chronique latine*, I, 212-14.

⁷⁰ This was intended as a continuation of a translation of Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*. Jean states he used Primat's chronicle from 1250. After the latter ended in 1277, Jean continued his work up to 1285 using later Dionysian sources: Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 90.

⁷¹ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. by L. A. Muratori in *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, 25 vols in 28 parts (Milan: Philippus Argelatus, 1727), XI, bk xxii, chap. xv, col. 1149.

This widespread and unequivocal attitude towards Richard is evident from several points. The great majority of works, even those whose interest in the Empire after the fall of the Hohenstaufen was strictly limited, accorded the Count of Cornwall the title *rex Alemannie* or *rois d'Alemaingne*. Many accounts, some of whose authors did not trouble even to record Richard's election, employed such titles when discussing his involvement in events that had little or nothing to do with the Empire. Such was the case for the minstrel of Reims when discussing Louis IX's marriage to Marguerite de Provence,⁷² and in the Ouche account of the battle of Lewes.⁷³ Similarly, the chronicler of Saint-Martin of Limoges employed the title in his account of the 1259 treaty of Paris.⁷⁴ Moreover, for those who took some interest in imperial affairs the disputed election of 1257 was largely a non-event: the great majority recorded only Richard's election.⁷⁵ Most telling of all is the fact that of those who did mention the double election, whether their works were pro-papal, such as Bernard Gui's *Flores chronicorum*,⁷⁶ products of the scriptorium of Saint-Denis,⁷⁷ or of Limoges,⁷⁸ all suggested that it was Richard who had succeeded in establishing himself.

⁷² *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxxiv, p. 183.

⁷³ *Ex Uticensis monasterii annalibus et necrologio*, p. 481. Also: *E Chronico Rotomagensi*, p. 340.

⁷⁴ *Ex notis S. Martini Lemovicensibus*, ed. by O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS, 26, pp. 437–38. Also: Landolpho of Colonna, *E Breviario historiarum Landulphi de Columna*, p. 196.

⁷⁵ For example: *E Chronico Normanniae*, p. 216; Adam de Clermont, *Excerpta E Floribus Historiarum auctore Adamo Claromontensi*, p. 78; Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronique 1145–1275*, p. 174; *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, p. 84; *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, pp. 392, 412; *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, pp. 393, 413; *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 100, 126.

⁷⁶ *Flores chronicorum*, pp. 699, 702. Gui did not dismiss Alfonso's claims but his frequent use of Richard's title left the reader in little doubt that it was Richard to whom Rudolf of Habsburg succeeded. Girard d'Auvergne noted the double election with the comment: 'sed Richardo praevalente', *Abbreviatione Historiae Figuralis*, p. 215.

⁷⁷ Writing in his universal chronicle, Guillaume de Nangis ignored Alfonso's claims after Richard's death and implied the period between this latter and the election of Rudolf was effectively one of vacancy: Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 424–26. Guillaume also noted that it was Richard who had been crowned at Aachen: *Chronique latine*, I, 214. For perceptions of the importance of coronation at Aachen in the northern French milieu see chapter eight.

⁷⁸ 'electus est in regem Alamanie Ricardus [...] sed a minori parte electus, quia ab alia parte electus est rex Castelle; sed Ricardus eodem anno coronatur Aquisgrani': *Ex notis Lemovicensibus*, p. 437.

Amongst the very few exceptions not to imply that Richard had been the successful candidate were Geoffroi de Collon, for whom, although he wrote in the 1290s, the double election proved to be the last imperial event considered worthy of remark,⁷⁹ and a later version of the *Grandes Chroniques* presented to Charles V, whose less than enthusiastic endorsement of Richard may be explained by growing anti-English sentiment during the Hundred Years War.⁸⁰ Only two writers gave any indication that Alfonso continued to pursue his candidature after the election. A chronicle written at Limoges noted that in 1274 Alfonso wished to travel to Lyon to negotiate with Gregory X over the question of the Empire but was forbidden from entering armed into the French kingdom by Philippe III and the Pope.⁸¹ Bernard Gui noted that Gregory met the *rex Castellae* at Beaucaire and convinced him to give up his claims.⁸²

Several reasons lie behind this peculiar unanimity. One case, that of Baudouin d'Avesnes' chronicler,⁸³ is explained by the fact that Jean and Baudouin d'Avesnes had been amongst Richard's principle supporters.⁸⁴ More generally the consensus reflects the fact that while Alfonso failed to establish his presence in the German lands of the Empire, Richard spent considerable time there and, at least at the beginning of his reign, enjoyed widespread acceptance in the regions bordering the French kingdom.⁸⁵ The reality of Richard's kingship was fleeting however, something that was recognized by at least one Norman writer,⁸⁶ and this reason alone does not, therefore, account for the fidelity shown to him by later writers. It is all the more surprising when it is

⁷⁹ *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, pp. 520–22.

⁸⁰ *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 217–18.

⁸¹ *Ex notis S. Martini Lemovicensibus*, p. 439.

⁸² *Flores chronicorum*, p. 703.

⁸³ *Chronique attribuée à Baudouin d'Avesnes*, pp. 170–71, 175–76. It is worth noting that Richard would have appeared the undisputed ruler of Germany to most readers of this chronicle: the manuscript tradition incorporating the counter-election enjoyed only a limited circulation.

⁸⁴ N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (New York: Salloch, 1947), p. 86.

⁸⁵ Denholm-Young, pp. 89–94, 100–06, 114–16, 139–40; B. Weiler, 'Image and Reality in Richard of Cornwall's German Career', *EHR*, 113 (1998), 1111–42. For an overview of Richard's German career: Weiler, *Henry III*, pp. 172–97.

⁸⁶ 'Circa haec tempora Ricardus comes dictus Pictaviensis, frater regis Anglorum, in regem coronatur Alemannorum, ibi nil prosperum agens, post duos annos, [aut] parum amplius, ad suum comitatum in Angliam est reversus', *E Chronico Normanniae*, p. 216.

considered that several French barons, including the Count of Flanders and the Duke of Burgundy, openly favoured Alfonso's candidature.⁸⁷ Hugues IV of Burgundy, for example, met with the Castilian king while on pilgrimage to Compostella and received a rent of ten thousand maravédís (21 September 1258). The following year Alfonso bestowed upon him the guardianship of the imperial city of Besançon in the old kingdom of Arles (18 October 1259).⁸⁸ Louis's own position is less clear, and there is no indication that he supported either candidate, although it is quite likely that he too favoured Alfonso at first.⁸⁹

The key to understanding Richard's success almost certainly lies in Alfonso's failings. In 1269 Louis IX had married his daughter, Blanche, to Alfonso's eldest son, Fernando de la Cerda. In August 1275 Fernando died and rather than endorse the succession of his La Cerda grandchildren, Alfonso, after some hesitation, chose to uphold the rights of their uncle, Sancho. Philippe III was not prepared to accept this casual disinheritance of his nephews and the La Cerda problem continued to sour Franco-Castilian relations throughout the next decade, coming close to open conflict in late 1276, when Philippe brought a large army to the Pyrenees.⁹⁰ The question of the conflict over the La Cerda inheritance appeared in multiple accounts, none of which depicted Alfonso as anything more than King of Spain.⁹¹ It seems almost certain that it was the

⁸⁷ Richard, *Louis*, p. 339.

⁸⁸ Although there is no evidence Alfonso bestowed on him the title of imperial vicar in the kingdom of Arles: J. Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne et la formation du duché du XI^e au XIV^e siècle*, Publications de l'Université de Dijon, 12 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1954), p. 218.

⁸⁹ Denholm-Young, pp. 97–99; C. C. Bayley, *The Formation of the German College of Electors in the Mid-Thirteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1949), pp. 73–74; Richard, *Louis*, pp. 338–39, 350. Alfonso claimed he acted with the counsel of the French king, but he also claimed the same of James of Aragon who openly expressed his reservations: J. F. O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), pp. 201–02. G. Daumet, *Mémoire sur les relations de la France et de la Castille de 1255 à 1320* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1913) overlooks the question of Alfonso's imperial candidature.

⁹⁰ C.-V. Langlois, *Le règne de Philippe III le Hardi* (Paris: Hachette, 1887), pp. 99–112; O'Callaghan, pp. 237–45, 250–51; G. Sivéry, *Philippe III le Hardi* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), pp. 163–65.

⁹¹ For example: *Chronique de Primat*, pp. 97–98; *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, pp. 92–93; *Chronique attribuée à Baudoin d'Avesnes*, pp. 179–80; *Gesta Philippi Regis Franciae, filii sanctae memoriae regis Ludovici*, ed. by P. C. F. Daunou and J. Naudet, in *RHGF*, xx, 466–538 (pp. 502–04); Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique*

animosity generated by Alfonso's attempt to disinherit the La Cerda children that led to his condemnation and the dismissal of any consideration of his imperial candidature by French writers long into the fourteenth century.

Through an English Prism? Perspectives on German Rulers after Richard

The reigns of William of Holland and Richard of Cornwall provide examples of an astonishing lack of interest on the part of French writers in the affairs of the Empire. When William was discussed it was usually because of his role in the Avesnes-Dampierre dispute; when the spotlight turned upon Richard it was because, as the English king's brother, he was constantly brought to the foreground by the complications of Anglo-French affairs. This would tend to suggest that matters relating to the Empire in the post-Hohenstaufen world only became of interest to French writers when they touched upon issues which impacted directly upon the French kingdom. An examination of the period between the death of Richard and the election of Charles of Moravia (1346), later the Emperor Charles IV (1355-78), would seem to imply, however, that such parochialism was not always the case. Those writing in France before the reign of Jean II chose to give accounts of many matters relating to the Empire between 1272 and 1346 that had little directly to do with the French kingdom; in addition they chose not to remark upon a number of topics that did.

Absent from the pages of chronicles produced in France before 1350 are any references to Capetian attempts to obtain the imperial crown. This is all the more surprising when it is remembered that while it is unlikely, despite speculation to the contrary, that efforts were made to place a Capetian candidate on the imperial throne between 1274 and 1307,⁹² at least four such attempts were certainly made before the election of Charles of Moravia. In one case, the candidature of Philippe IV's son, Philippe de Poitiers, in 1313, this

latine, I, pp. 251-52; *Fragmentum de vita ejusdem Philippi Regis Franciae, audacis dicti, sancti Ludovici filii*, ed. by P. C. F. Daunou and J. Naudet, in *RHGF*, xx, 540-41 (p. 540); *La Branche des Roysaus Lingnages*, lines 12129-236, pp. 210-11; *Anonymum S. Martialis Chronicon ab anno M. CC. LXXIII ad ann. M. CCC. XV.*, p. 174; *Historia satirica regum*, p. 14; *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 64-67.

⁹² P. Roscheck, 'Französische Kandidaturen für den römischen Kaiserthron in Spätmittelalter und Frühneuzeit (1272/3-1519)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Saarbrücken, 1984), pp. 46-54.

silence might be attributed to the apparent abandonment of the plan at its earliest stages: this potential candidature is known only from a brief note of a discussion that took place in the royal council.⁹³ Equally, it seems probable that all parties, in particularly Pope Gregory X, deliberately sought to keep the 1273 candidature of Philippe III a closely guarded secret.⁹⁴ The failure of any commentator to note the candidature of Charles de Valois in 1308 or that of Charles IV le Bel in 1324 is less explicable. Both appear to have reached an advanced stage and involved complex negotiations, factors which would have made secrecy difficult to maintain. Charles de Valois's candidature, for example, resulted in a plethora of letters and embassies⁹⁵ and the expenditure of vast sums of borrowed money.⁹⁶ Charles le Bel's candidature was conducted through the means of a similarly large-scale diplomatic offensive.⁹⁷

The 1308 venture, at least, was clearly not a well-kept secret: the contemporary Florentine, Giovanni Villani, gave a lengthy, if somewhat inaccurate, account of it⁹⁸ and a fourteenth-century Italian glossator of Géraud de Frachet even appears to have been aware of the 1273 candidature.⁹⁹ It is worth noting that, even though it was declined, the simple fact that Pope

⁹³ MGH Constitutiones, 5, ed. by J. Schwalm (Hannover: Hahn, 1909–13), no. 12, pp. 8–10 (November/December, 1313). G. Zeller, 'Les rois de France candidats à l'Empire. Essai sur l'idéologie impériale en France', *RH*, 173 (1934), 273–311; 497–534 (p. 300); Roscheck, 'Französische Kandidaturen', pp. 128–35.

⁹⁴ C. N. Jones, '...mais tot por le servise Deu? Philippe III le Hardi, Charles d'Anjou and the 1273/74 Imperial Candidature', *Viator*, 34 (2003), 208–28 (pp. 210, 227).

⁹⁵ For the correspondence of Philippe, Charles and Clement V, respectively: MGH Constitutiones 4, ed. by J. Schwalm (Hannover: Hahn, 1906), nos 239–42, pp. 203–06; nos 243–44, pp. 206–08; nos 246–49, pp. 210–14.

⁹⁶ J. Petit, *Charles de Valois (1270–1325)* (Paris: Picard, 1900), pp. 116–19; F. Kern, *Die Anfänge der französischen Ausdehnungspolitik bis zum Jahre 1308* (Tübingen: Siebeck, 1910), pp. 300–11; Roscheck, 'Französische Kandidaturen', pp. 75–118; S. Menache, *Clement V* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 152–53.

⁹⁷ Zeller, 'Les rois de France candidats à l'Empire', pp. 300–01; Roscheck, 'Französische Kandidaturen', pp. 142–77.

⁹⁸ *Nuova Cronica*, ed. by G. Porta, 3 vols (Parma: Guanda, 1991), II, bk ix, chap. ci, pp. 194–97. It was also referred to by the Paduan, Albertino Mussato: G. Lizerand, *Clément V et Philippe IV le Bel* (Paris: Hachette, 1910), p. 171.

⁹⁹ J. Heller, *Deutschland und Frankreich in ihren politischen Beziehungen vom Ende des Interregnums bis zum Tode Rudolfs von Habsburg. Ein Beitrag zur Reichsgeschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Peppmüller, 1874), p. 53; Jones, 'Philippe III le Hardi [...] Imperial Candidature', p. 210, n. 15.

Gregory IX had offered the imperial throne to Louis IX's brother, Robert I d'Artois, became known in England, France, and the Rhineland,¹⁰⁰ and, although he pursued it with very little vigour, Edward III's 1348 candidature was known to several English chroniclers.¹⁰¹ Why then should the author of the metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris, almost certainly a member of Charles de Valois's own household,¹⁰² fail to refer to Charles' pursuit of the title in 1308?

That a man with limited access to the court and very much on the political periphery,¹⁰³ the lawyer from Coutances and indefatigable pamphleteer Pierre Dubois, should propose first Charles de Valois¹⁰⁴ and later Philippe IV¹⁰⁵ as imperial candidates, suggests that the idea of a Capetian emperor was one which had at least some currency amongst contemporaries. Such an idea is supported by the suggestion of a member of the Arts Faculty of the University of Paris, Jean de Jandun, that Charles le Bel would be ideally suited to rule the world.¹⁰⁶ That a Cistercian living in Champagne had chosen to record even the mere offer of the imperial crown to Robert I d'Artois,¹⁰⁷ serves only to underline the striking absence from the northern French environment of accounts of what were, during the early years of the fourteenth century, active Capetian efforts to

¹⁰⁰ See chapter one for the relevant chronicles.

¹⁰¹ H. S. Offler, 'England and Germany at the Beginning of the Hundred Years' War', *EHR*, 54 (1939), 608–31 (p. 630).

¹⁰² For the author's links to the Valois household: J. Dunbabin, 'The Metrical Chronicle Traditionally Ascribed to Geffroy de Paris', in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. by M. Bent and A. Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 233–46 (pp. 241–44). Cf. C.-V. Langlois, 'Gefroi des Nés, ou de Paris, traducteur et publiciste', *HLF*, 35 (1921), 324–48.

¹⁰³ In support of this assessment of Dubois's position see my comments in: Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', pp. 51–53. Cf. Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 487–88.

¹⁰⁴ *De recuperatione terre sancte, traité de politique générale par Pierre Dubois*, ed. by C.-V. Langlois (Paris: Picard, 1891), chap. 116, p. 104.

¹⁰⁵ *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by J. Schwalm, MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 245, pp. 208–10.

¹⁰⁶ *Tractatus de Laudibus Parisius*, in *Paris et ses historiens aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles, documents et écrits originaux*, ed. and trans. by A.-J.-V. Le Roux de Lincy and L.-M. Tisserand, *Histoire générale de Paris* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1867), pp. 32–79 (p. 60).

¹⁰⁷ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 949.

obtain the imperial throne. Some explanation may lie in the desire of certain writers, particular those with a connection to the court such as the Dionysians, to avoid giving accounts of failed Capetian projects. Yet this absence remains peculiar and is compounded by two further distinctive features of French chronicles: their view of Capetian relations with German rulers and would-be rulers after 1272 and a shift that took place in the reporting of imperial affairs after 1308.

The Capetians enjoyed turbulent relations, at best, with the German king Rudolf of Habsburg (1273–91) and his son, Albrecht (1298–1308). Philippe III's relations with the former were strained by the events of the 1273–74 imperial election¹⁰⁸ and on occasion even strayed into open conflict.¹⁰⁹ It is possible that Rudolf and Philippe may have met in late 1275,¹¹⁰ although relations appear only to have warmed when Gregory X took steps to reconcile Rudolf with Philippe's uncle, Charles d'Anjou, in 1276. Even then relations continued to be aggravated by the intrigues of Philippe's mother, Marguerite de Provence, who, in the summer of 1278, encouraged a plan by which Rudolf would marry his son, Hartmann, to Edward I's daughter, Joanna, and impose Hartmann as effective ruler of the kingdom of Arles to the cost of Charles d'Anjou.¹¹¹ This explosive situation was only diffused by Nicholas III's revival of Gregory X's plan that the kingdom of Arles be reconstituted to the benefit of the Angevins¹¹² and the death of Hartmann.

Albrecht's relations with Philippe IV, which began with an alliance brought about through mutual hostility to Rudolf of Habsburg's immediate successor as German ruler, Adolf of Nassau (1292–98),¹¹³ quickly soured after the outbreak of Philippe's dispute with Pope Boniface VIII. A growing entente between

¹⁰⁸ Jones, 'Philippe III le Hardi [. . .] Imperial Candidature', p. 215. Concerning Rudolf's candidature: Redlich, pp. 133–69; G. Gropper, *Wahl, Krönung und Approbation Rudolfs von Habsburg zum römischen König* (Neuried: Ars una, 1998), pp. 26–60.

¹⁰⁹ Jones, 'Philippe III le Hardi [. . .] Imperial Candidature', p. 215.

¹¹⁰ L. Leclère, *Les rapports de la Papauté et de la France sous Philippe III (1270–1285)* (Brussels: Lamertin, 1889), pp. 51–55.

¹¹¹ R. Köhler, *Die Heiratsverhandlungen zwischen Eduard I. von England und Rudolf von Habsburg. Ein Beitrag zur englisch-deutschen Bündnispolitik am Ausgang des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1969).

¹¹² Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, pp. 229–55; Resmini, pp. 149–74; Dunbabin, *Charles*, p. 139.

¹¹³ Leroux, p. 97.

Albrecht and Boniface, which culminated in papal confirmation of Albrecht as king of the Romans on 30 April 1303,¹¹⁴ led Philippe to enter into an anti-Habsburg alliance with the King of Bohemia.¹¹⁵ Yet hardly any of the turbulence of Capetian-Habsburg relations was reflected in the pages of French chronicles, and, notably, none at all was reflected in pages produced within the Capetian orbit of the Île-de-France. Only the chronicle of Saint-Martin of Limoges noted the conflict between Rudolf and Philippe III.¹¹⁶ It is striking that an acrimonious conflict between Philippe IV and Albrecht of Habsburg's successor evoked similarly little interest on the French page, while the violently discordant relations between Philippe and Adolf of Nassau resonated strongly.

On 15 November 1308, Count Henry VII of Luxembourg was elected to the Empire in preference to Philippe IV's brother, Charles de Valois, becoming, with his imperial coronation in Rome in 1312, the Emperor Henry VII (1308–13). Philippe's response was to pursue, at least from 1310¹¹⁷ and possibly even from as early as 1308,¹¹⁸ a consistent policy intended to frustrate Henry's plans at every opportunity. Philippe vigorously sought to prevent Henry's coronation, and when this proved unfeasible, at least to delay it.¹¹⁹ In return for abandoning his call for a posthumous trial of Boniface VIII, Philippe secured Clement V's aid in wrecking a plan for an alliance between the Sicilian king, Robert d'Anjou (1309–43), and the new emperor, a plan which had originally emanated from the papal curia itself.¹²⁰ A combination of negotiations with, and pressure on, Clement also enabled Philippe to wring an 'alliance' from Henry, one which

¹¹⁴ Paravicini Bagliani, *Boniface*, pp. 340–42.

¹¹⁵ Leroux, pp. 113–19; Lizerand, *Clément*, p. 165.

¹¹⁶ *Ex notis S. Martini Lemovicensibus*, p. 439. Similarly, Boniface VIII's plan to crown Albrecht emperor was noted in very few accounts (see chapter six).

¹¹⁷ W. M. Bowsky, *Henry VII in Italy: The Conflict of Empire and City-State, 1310–1313* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), p. 20. A report by Aragonese envoys suggests that Philippe was attempting to prevent Henry's imperial coronation as early as April 1309: Lizerand, *Clément*, p. 187, n. 1.

¹¹⁸ E. Welvert, 'Philippe le Bel et la maison de Luxembourg', *BEC*, 45 (1884), 180–88 (p. 186).

¹¹⁹ MGH *Constitutiones* 4, no. 467, p. 413 (9 December 1310); no. 515, p. 475 (19 January 1311). Lizerand, *Clément*, pp. 226–28; W. M. Bowsky, 'Clement V and the Emperor-Elect', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 12 (1958), 52–69 (p. 60); Bowsky, *Henry*, pp. 107, 109; Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, p. 418.

¹²⁰ Lizerand, *Clément*, pp. 222–26; Bowsky, 'Clement V and the Emperor-Elect', pp. 54, 63; Bowsky, *Henry*, pp. 23–24, 121; Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, pp. 421–23.

delayed the homage Philippe's son, Philippe de Poitiers, owed Henry for the imperial county of Burgundy and guaranteed imperial neutrality in the Flanders dispute.¹²¹ Simultaneously, Philippe's agents entered into active negotiations with the Guelfs opposing Henry's descent into Italy.¹²² They were also able to convince the Pope to abandon his initial plans to support Henry in his confrontation with Robert d'Anjou in 1312: papal letters, already sealed, ordering Robert's brother, Jean, Duke of Duras (d. 1335), to leave Rome remained undispatched after three members of the Capetian dynasty appeared before the Pope to plead the Angevin case.¹²³ In common with their treatment of Capetian-Habsburg relations, French chroniclers said nothing of this strained state of affairs. At the same time, the presentation of both Henry and those who claimed the imperial throne after his death, Friedrich der Schöne (d. 1330) and Ludwig of Bavaria (d. 1347), differed from that of Friedrich's father, Albrecht, or his grandfather, Rudolf.

It was not simply that the tense relations between the Habsburgs and the Capetians were overlooked: Rudolf and Albrecht attracted little attention in northern France more generally. Rudolf rarely received more than notices of his election¹²⁴ and death, the latter frequently mentioned only as a preface to Adolf's accession.¹²⁵ The chronicler of Baudouin d'Avesnes was near unique in touching upon the wider aspects of Rudolf's reign, and unique amongst French sources in recounting his dispute with Ottokar of Bohemia.¹²⁶ Albrecht could

¹²¹ Lizerand, *Clément*, pp. 235–49; Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, pp. 423–24.

¹²² Lizerand, *Clément*, pp. 229, 246; Bowsky, *Henry*, p. 80.

¹²³ Bowsky, *Henry*, p. 156.

¹²⁴ *Abbreviatione Historiae Figuralis*, p. 218; *Chronique attribuée a Baudouin d'Avesnes*, p. 176; *Ex notis S. Martini Lemovicensibus*, p. 439; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 244; *Flores chronicorum*, p. 702; *Grandes Chroniques*, VII, 257, where a passing reference appears in an account of the battle of Tagliacozzo.

¹²⁵ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 279; *Extraits d'une chronique anonyme française, finissant en M.CCC.VIII*, ed. by J. D. Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF*, XXI, 130–37 (p. 133); *Flores chronicorum*, p. 709; Continuation of the annals of Rouen for 1282–1343, *E Chronici Rotomagensis continuatione*, ed. by N. de Wailly, L. Delisle and C.-M.-G. B. Jourdain, in *RHGF*, XXIII, 343–50 (p. 346); *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 147–48. Concerning the continuation of the annals of Rouen: Delisle, 'Annales de Rouen', p. 197.

¹²⁶ *Chronique attribuée a Baudouin d'Avesnes*, p. 176.

claim little better, although in addition to his election¹²⁷ and murder¹²⁸ his meeting with Philippe IV at Quatrevaux and the marriage of his son to Philippe's sister, Blanche de France, did receive some attention.¹²⁹ A Capetian-Habsburg marriage, if not the Quatrevaux meeting, received particular attention in one early-fourteenth-century Flemish chronicle, although here it appeared with a unique and erroneous twist: the parties involved were Albrecht himself and a daughter of Charles de Valois.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, for the most part interest in Albrecht was notable by its absence. In contrast, aspects of Adolf of Nassau's reign, Henry's *Romzug*, and Ludwig's lengthy attempts to secure his claims on the imperial throne were the subject of extensive accounts.

¹²⁷ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 304; *Extraits d'une chronique anonyme française*, p. 135; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 17; *Flores chronicorum*, p. 711; Continuation of the annals of Rouen for 1282-1343, *E Chronici Rotomagensis continuatione*, p. 346; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 180.

¹²⁸ Second Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 370-72; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 32; *Flores chronicorum*, p. 717; Continuation of the annals of Rouen for 1282-1343, *E Chronici Rotomagensis continuatione*, p. 347; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 265. Albrecht's dramatic death clearly caught the attention of French chroniclers and it is rare to find a note of it which does not remark upon his murder. One account that does avoid this detail is Jean de Saint-Victor's *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 650.

¹²⁹ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 308, 310; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, pp. 17-18; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 186-87, 190. The meeting but not the marriage is noted: *Fragment d'une chronique anonyme, finissant en M.CCC.XXVIII*, p. 147. For the marriage but not the meeting: *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 635.

¹³⁰ *Chronique normande du XIV^e siècle*, ed. by A. Molinier and É. Molinier (Paris: Renouard, 1882), pp. 13-14. The editors have argued, plausibly, that the anonymous author was probably a Norman, a member of the minor nobility, and in the service of the Valois: *ibid.*, pp. v-vi. The chronicle was probably not compiled until 1369-72 (*ibid.*, pp. xxvi-xxvii), but the author reused an older source for the years 1294-1304/5. This latter, which contains the material relating to Albrecht, is no longer extant as a separate chronicle but was probably originally written around 1304/5 by a Fleming favourable to the Capetians, possibly an inhabitant of Tournai. The editors suggest that the 1294-1304/5 chronicle may also have served as a source for Gilles le Muisis: *ibid.*, pp. xxix-xxx. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to make use of Gilles' work in this study: *Chronique et Annales de Gilles Le Muisit, abbé de Saint-Martin de Tournai (1272-1352)*, ed. by H. Lemaître (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1906). The alleged role of the Count of Hainaut in securing the Habsburg-Valois marriage suggests the original author of the 1294-1304/5 chronicle may have been confusing the events at Quatrevaux with the 1305 marriage of Charles' daughter Jeanne de Valois to Guillaume II of Hainaut; on the other hand the later Norman anonymous may simply have chosen to restructure this passage to present the Valois in a more prominent light.

The attention paid to certain German rulers, particularly in those accounts that were produced in, or were influenced by, the scriptorium of Saint-Denis, was not incidental. It reflected, at least in part, the political concerns of the day in much the same way that the depictions of William of Holland and Richard of Cornwall did. Amongst these concerns, one of the most important was the position adopted by claimants to the German kingship in the Anglo-French dispute, which re-erupted in the 1290s and continued sporadically before reaching its apogee in the events of the Hundred Years War. It was this factor which played an important part in determining the reputation of Adolf of Nassau and to a lesser extent that of Ludwig of Bavaria.

Writing in the late 1290s, one of Adolf's contemporaries, Guillaume de Nangis, summed him up as: 'miles in armis strenuus, sed non multum locuples'.¹³¹ In the following decade, Pierre Dubois's comments concerning interference in the electoral system may have reflected a common belief that Adolf's precarious financial situation had left him open to manipulation.¹³² This was not an entirely inaccurate assessment given the part the Archbishop of Cologne, Siegfried von Westerburg, had played in Adolf's election.¹³³ Bernard Gui, amongst others, was inclined to see Adolf as a particularly weak ruler.¹³⁴ In the course of the fourteenth century criticism of Adolf appears to have grown.

The version of the *Grandes Chroniques* prepared at Saint-Denis in the opening years of the Hundred Years War incorporated Guillaume's comments that Edward I had bought Adolf's support, but that the latter found himself deserted by his allies and unable to fulfil his agreements.¹³⁵ At the same time the *Grandes Chroniques* compilers expanded the account, transforming Adolf into an almost comical figure. A long incident was recounted in which Adolf attempted to secure the return of lands that he considered had been encroached upon by the French. His demands were met by a letter, *qui moult estoit grande*, but which, on the advice of Robert II d'Artois and the royal council, contained

¹³¹ *Chronique latine*, 1, 279.

¹³² Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', p. 61.

¹³³ F.-R. Erkens, *Siegfried von Westerburg (1274–1297). Die Reichs- und Territorialpolitik eines Kölner Erzbischofs im ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1982), pp. 314–49.

¹³⁴ 'sed in potentia non multum', *Flores chronicorum*, p. 709. Also: *Extraits d'une chronique anonyme française*, p. 133.

¹³⁵ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, 1, 287–88. Also *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 12.

merely the dismissive phrase *Troup alemant*.¹³⁶ While an exchange of letters between Philippe and Adolf certainly took place over this issue,¹³⁷ there is little to suggest that Philippe's response was quite so extreme. In fact, given the remarkable similarity between Philippe's response and that attributed by the twelfth-century writer Walter Map to Louis VI, the Dionysian account probably had a literary, rather than an historical, basis.¹³⁸

To augment their portrait of an *imbécile cupide*¹³⁹ the Dionysians suggested that the ineffective Adolf, having found himself unable to offer Edward any practical support, later came to terms with Philippe.¹⁴⁰ It is unclear whether, in reality, Adolf actually allowed Philippe to buy him out of his English alliance, although this was certainly an interpretation being given to events on the eve of the Hundred Years War, in, for example, a report of the actions of Philippe's agent Musciatto dei Francesi (known as Mouche).¹⁴¹ The interpretation is

¹³⁶ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 158–60. Powicke misunderstood this account and suggested that the response was delivered to Philippe rather than to Adolf: M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century 1216–1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 660. The editors of the *Anciennes chroniques de Flandre*, which incorporated a version of the insulting phrase, suggested that its sense in the *Grandes Chroniques* was 'cela est trop allemand': *Extraits d'une chronique anonyme intitulée Anciennes chroniques de Flandre*, p. 359, n. 4. The sense of this in English may be best conveyed by a phrase such as: 'typically German' or 'very German'. Cf. R. Fawtier, 'Un incident diplomatique franco-allemand au temps de Philippe le Bel', *Annuaire-bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France années 1946–1947* (1948), 27–38 (p. 33, n. 3).

¹³⁷ MGH Constitutiones 3, ed. by J. Schwalm (Hannover: Hahn, 1904–06), no. 524, p. 501 (31 August 1294, Nuremberg); no. 527, pp. 502–03 (9 March 1295, Paris). Adolf's letter dated 31 October 1294, Maubeuge, is preserved only in the French version given in the *Grandes Chroniques*.

¹³⁸ Fawtier, 'Un incident diplomatique', pp. 34–35.

¹³⁹ The phrase is Jean Favier's: *Philippe le Bel*, pp. 303–05. Favier's impression of Adolf is precisely that intended by the *Grandes Chroniques*.

¹⁴⁰ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 160. There is no evidence for the chronicler's claim that the peace was to be based upon Adolf's marriage to Philippe's sister, a possible confusion with the later arrangements made with Albrecht.

¹⁴¹ MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 645, pp. 631–35. This document was originally dated to 1298–1301: F. Funck-Brentano, 'Document pour servir à l'histoire des relations de la France avec l'Angleterre et l'Allemagne sous le règne de Philippe le Bel', *RH*, 39 (1889), 326–48. Accepting Funck-Brentano's dating, Barraclough revised Kern's earlier analysis of the negotiations of 1294–97: G. Barraclough, 'Edward I and Adolf of Nassau', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 6 (1940), 225–62. Prestwich has convincingly argued that the report may actually be a garbled reference to payments made to Albrecht and was almost certainly

supported by an account that appears in an early-fourteenth-century Flemish chronicle incorporated into a work compiled in the late 1360s. Here the Count of Hainaut is portrayed as suggesting to Philippe that the King of Germany *estoit moult convoiteux, et que se il avoit aucun present de deniers, que tost lui feroit la guerre cesser*. Jacques de Saint-Pol was duly despatched to Cologne to investigate this possibility and Adolf proved more than happy to be bought off.¹⁴² The Saint-Denis scriptorium, in contrast with this Flemish account, implied that Adolf was not simply an enemy who could be bribed, but that he was a particularly weak and hapless one. There was, the monks appear to have sought to suggest, very little to fear from Anglo-German alliances. The abbey's take on events seems, however, to have rarely spread beyond the works produced in its own scriptorium. For example, the version of Philippe and Adolf's confrontation that appeared in the *Anciennes chroniques de Flandre*¹⁴³ stripped the incident of references to Adolf's alliance with the English and many of its negative connotations. In another, anonymous, account, it was noted that many French princes were said to have criticized Philippe's behaviour for its lack of wisdom.¹⁴⁴ The Dionysian approach adopted in the 1340s probably had much to do with a new Anglo-German alliance formed in the 1330s.

Ludwig of Bavaria's appointment of Edward III as imperial vicar in 1338, a grant intended both to secure the adhesion of Edward's allies in the Low Countries in preparation for an invasion of France, and to facilitate the re-assertion of Ludwig's authority in the region,¹⁴⁵ drew the derisive comment from the Saint-Denis scriptorium that few obeyed Edward in his new capacity.¹⁴⁶ Edward's ally was roundly condemned and labelled only as the Duke

compiled much later than previously thought: M. C. Prestwich, 'Edward I and Adolf of Nassau', in *Thirteenth Century England III Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1989*, ed. by P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), pp. 127–36.

¹⁴² *Chronique normande du XIV^e siècle*, pp. 7–8.

¹⁴³ *Extraits d'une chronique anonyme intitulée Anciennes chroniques de Flandre*, p. 350.

¹⁴⁴ *Extrait d'une chronique anonyme finissant en M.CCC.LXXX*, ed. by J. D. Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF*, xxi, 123–30 (p. 127).

¹⁴⁵ Offler, 'England and Germany', pp. 608–24; J. Favier, *La guerre de Cent ans* (Paris: Fayard, 1980), pp. 77–79; Allmand, pp. 12–13.

¹⁴⁶ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 160; *Chronique de Richard Lescot*, pp. 46–47; *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 167. A more neutral account appeared in the late 1360s, where Edward's appointment was noted alongside the fact that the

of Bavaria *qui se tenoit pour emperere* and who *fust notoirement escommenié*.¹⁴⁷ These sentiments were echoed in the continuation of the annals of Rouen.¹⁴⁸ Yet Ludwig's position was much less clear-cut than Adolf's.

Ludwig was certainly the subject of frequent condemnation. He was regularly associated with, and depicted as a supporter of, an extreme interpretation of the doctrine of absolute poverty espoused by the deposed Franciscan minister-general Michael of Cesena.¹⁴⁹ Ludwig and the Michaelists were depicted as acting together by the Dionysians, were condemned together,¹⁵⁰ and Ludwig's plan to call a council to denounce Pope John XXII as an heretic for his attack on Franciscan doctrine was highlighted.¹⁵¹ The 1340s *Grandes Chroniques* even included a passage which chronologically rearranged events to imply Ludwig's support for the Franciscans was one of the original reasons for his papal condemnation.¹⁵² The charges were undoubtedly founded on the fact that Michael and a group of leading Franciscan rebels, welcome or not, chose to flee to Ludwig's court at Pisa in September 1328. An account of the years 1328–39 written at some point shortly after 1342, recounts an incident which suggests that condemnation of Ludwig's involvement with the Michaelists was not universal in France. According to the chronicler, shortly after the papal condemnation of

bishop and bourgeois of Cambrai refused to obey him: *Chronique normande du XIV^e siècle*, p. 40.

¹⁴⁷ *Grandes Chroniques*, ix, 167. A similar wording is common to all Saint-Denis accounts. The Norman anonymous noted that the reason why the inhabitants of Cambrai refused to accept Ludwig's orders was because he was *en ce temps escommenié par la crestienté*: *Chronique normande du XIV^e siècle*, p. 40.

¹⁴⁸ Continuation of the annals of Rouen for 1282–1343, *Ex Annalium Rotomagensium continuationibus*, ed. by O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS, 26, pp. 500–06 (p. 506). The RHGF edition of this chronicle is preferable to that of the MGH (the MGH edits only extracts), but as it is continued only up to 1328 it is necessary to employ the MGH for later material.

¹⁴⁹ For the Michaelist dispute, which began in the years 1321–23, and its background: M. D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order 1210–1323*, rev. edn (St Bonaventure: The Franciscan Institute, 1998), pp. 238–69.

¹⁵⁰ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, ii, 96, 109, 120; *Chronique de Richard Lescot*, pp. 8, 14; *Grandes Chroniques*, ix, 93, 106.

¹⁵¹ *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, pp. 51–52; Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, ii, 17; *Grandes Chroniques*, viii, 344–45.

¹⁵² *Grandes Chroniques*, ix, 39–40.

Ludwig and his antipope was read out at Paris in June 1330, *lettres d'appellation qui contenoient moult de blaphemes contre le pape* appeared on the doors of the Dominican and Franciscan convents of the city. Although it notes that the Franciscans made clear their official support for the papal position, the account almost certainly reflects some genuine Michaelist sympathy amongst the mendicants of Paris in the 1330s, and, as a consequence, some sympathy for the Duke of Bavaria.¹⁵³ At the same time, John XXII's condemnation of the doctrine of absolute poverty does not seem to have been questioned seriously in northern France, possibly because, unlike the Pope's later theological *faux pas* concerning the beatific vision, his arguments concerning poverty, which were of a primarily legal nature, may have aroused little controversy amongst the theologians of the University of Paris. Ludwig's relationship with the northern Italian Ghibellines also aroused disapproval in France,¹⁵⁴ although probably as much because Matteo Visconti and his sons had been responsible for the humiliating, and widely remarked upon,¹⁵⁵ defeat of Philippe de Valois during his Italian venture,¹⁵⁶ as for the stated reason, that the Visconti had been condemned for heresy. When it came to other issues, however, some authors condemned the Duke of Bavaria, while the accounts emanating from the Saint-Denis scriptorium often adopted a much more neutral position.

The Dionysians often sought to extricate Ludwig from controversy, particularly in his dealings with *duo filii diaboli*, Marsilius of Padua and Jean de Jandun. Following the Dionysian account, Ludwig took Marsilius and Jean under his protection in 1326 but did not subscribe to their teachings.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ 'A Continuation of the *Manuel d'histoire de Philippe VI* for the Years 1328–39', ed. by C. J. Rogers, *EHR*, 114 (1999), 1256–66 (p. 1261). For the dating: *ibid.*, p. 1256. As Rogers notes, the work is often somewhat critical of Philippe de Valois: *ibid.*, p. 1257, n. 1. We may speculate, therefore, that it was produced outside royal circles.

¹⁵⁴ *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 49; *Grandes Chroniques*, viii, 339.

¹⁵⁵ *Memoriale historiarum*, pp. 672–73; BnF, fr. 10132, fol. 403^v; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, pp. 52–53, 55; Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, ii, 28–29; *Grandes Chroniques*, viii, 347–48, 356–57.

¹⁵⁶ P. Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philippe le Long roi de France (1316–1322)*, 2 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1897; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1975), i, 214–15.

¹⁵⁷ Following a lengthy account of Marsilius's theory that the Church should be subject to the Empire it is noted: 'Aus paroles desquies, Loys de Baviere ne s'accorda pas du tout [...]', *Grandes Chroniques*, ix, 58. The probable source for this passage appears slightly more nuanced: 'Cui tamen sententiae, quin potius vesaniae, Bavarus non totaliter acquievit [...]', Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, ii, 75.

Although the Duke of Bavaria refused advice that he should punish the pair for heresy, the protection he extended to them was not founded upon any conversion to their views but was rather an act of chivalrous courtesy.¹⁵⁸ A similar case concerned the antipope, Nicholas V, set up by Ludwig in Rome.¹⁵⁹ For the Dionysians, Ludwig played no part in the election of the antipope, which was entirely the consequence of the machinations of certain *fili diabolici*, again almost certainly a veiled reference to Marsilius and Jean.¹⁶⁰ It was even suggested that Ludwig might have been opposed to the election.¹⁶¹ In contrast, the continuation of the annals of Rouen¹⁶² and the continuation of Pierre Honoré's *Grandes Chroniques* vested full responsibility in Ludwig: 'et ainssi fu en sainte Yglise scime et descorde par le mauvais conseil de cel Loys'.¹⁶³ The Dionysians certainly noted that Ludwig, like Adolf, had thought better of his English alliance and changed sides in the hope that Philippe VI would negotiate his reconciliation with the Pope.¹⁶⁴ Yet Dionysian ambiguity towards the Duke

¹⁵⁸ Ludwig was said to have responded to his advisors's suggestions that he punish the pair: "Ce ne seroit pas humaine chose de metre à mort ceulz qui nous suivent, especiaument ceulz qui ont pour nous laissié leur pays et leur fortune", *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 60. For similar accounts see: *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 68; Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 74–76. Guillaume's third continuator also refers to an earlier association between Ludwig, Marsilius, and Jean under his account of 1318: *Chronique latine*, II, 14–15. Concerning this latter: C. N. Jones, "A Game of Strange Alliances?" The Context and Purpose of Marsilius of Padua's *Defensor pacis* (unpublished master's thesis, University of Durham, 1999), pp. 28–29. The omission of this encounter from later works may have been because it did not include any condemnation of the pair's views by Ludwig.

¹⁵⁹ H. Thomas, *Ludwig der Bayer (1282–1347) Kaiser und Ketzer* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1993), pp. 211–13.

¹⁶⁰ For Marsilius's part in Nicholas's election: H. S. Offler, 'Empire and Papacy: The Last Struggle', *TRHS*, series 5, 6 (1956), 21–47 (pp. 33–39).

¹⁶¹ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 87–88. See also: *Chronique de Richard Lescot*, pp. 1–2; *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 75–76.

¹⁶² Continuation of the annals of Rouen for 1282–1343, *Ex Annalium Rotomagensium continuationibus*, p. 505.

¹⁶³ *Grandes Chroniques* (BnF, fr. 10132 version) in *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 337, 339.

¹⁶⁴ *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 234. Offler suggested that Ludwig was under few illusions concerning the possibility of a negotiated reconciliation but sought a French alliance to acquire a freehand in Italy: 'England and Germany', pp. 618–24. The 'off-message' continuation of the annals of Rouen, less concerned than the Saint-Denis scriptorium with painting Valois policy in a good light, suggested that Philippe had hindered an earlier

of Bavaria arose fundamentally out of Valois attitudes towards John XXII and, in particular, towards John of Bohemia.

Through the Prism of John of Bohemia? Henry VII and Ludwig of Bavaria

It was Pope John XXII (1316–34) who had first condemned Ludwig's imperial candidature, and Ludwig's struggle with the papacy was one of the most prominent features of French accounts of his activities.¹⁶⁵ Yet, from a French perspective, John himself became a far more controversial figure than the Duke of Bavaria. In November 1331 and January 1332 the Pope preached a series of sermons concerned with the beatific vision. The Pope's view, that the souls of even saints were unable to attain this blessed state before Judgement Day, was condemned in no uncertain terms by the Theology Faculty of the University of Paris. This condemnation was given the official support of the court when Philippe VI hosted an assembly at Vincennes on 19 December 1333.¹⁶⁶ At the latter, twenty-nine masters made clear their extreme reservations regarding John's doctrine and, in January 1334, despatched a request to the curia pressing the Pope to ratify their view as the correct one.¹⁶⁷

Despite a deathbed recantation on 3 December 1334 and a statement in favour of the university's position, John's views were not to be forgotten or forgiven by the Saint-Denis scriptorium. Richard Lescot, for example,

attempt by Ludwig to reconcile himself with Pope Benedict XII: Continuation of the annals of Rouen for 1282–1343, *Ex Annalium Rotomagensium continuationibus*, p. 506.

¹⁶⁵ *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, pp. 51–52, 64, 68; Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 14–15, 17, 59, 74–76, 96, 109, 116, 120; Continuation of the annals of Rouen for 1282–1343, *E Chronici Rotomagensis continuatione*, p. 349; Continuation of the annals of Rouen for 1282–1343, *Ex Annalium Rotomagensium continuationibus*, p. 506; *Chronique de Richard Lescot*, pp. 8, 11, 14; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 344–45 and IX, 37–40, 58–60, 93, 106, 117, 120.

¹⁶⁶ Philippe's pivotal role in these events appears to have provoked little comment amongst historians. For example: G. Mollat, *Les papes d'Avignon (1305–1378)*, 9th edn (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1949), pp. 54–56, 393–402. It has not been possible to obtain J. E. Weakland, 'Pope John XXII and the Beatific Vision Controversy', *Annuaire Mediaevale*, 9 (1968), 76–84.

¹⁶⁷ S. Menache, 'La naissance d'une nouvelle source d'autorité: l'université de Paris', *RH*, 268 (1982), 305–27 (pp. 322–26).

commented on John's view: 'Quod dictum scandalizavit multos, verumptamen magis creditur opinative quam cum assertione dixisse quoniam hoc esset hereticum asserere, quod qui assereret deberet pro infideli et heretico judicari'.¹⁶⁸ It is therefore less surprising that the attitude towards Ludwig adopted by those accounts written in the shadow of the court and the university was somewhat nuanced: Ludwig might be justly condemned for his support of the Michaelists, yet to condemn him entirely placed John in a rather better light than might be desirable. Instead, Ludwig was presented as neither entirely unreasonable nor entirely heretical and John's failure to resolve his dispute with him could appear to be just another example of the Pope's bad judgement. In this context it is notable that French writers did not remark upon the renewal of Ludwig's condemnation by John's successors. The decisive factor in the Duke of Bavaria's portrayal, however, was not French attitudes to the Pope but Ludwig's relationship with the King of Bohemia.

The election to the imperial throne, in 1308, of John of Bohemia's father, Count Henry of Luxembourg, had brought to an end a short period of close Capetian-Luxembourg relations, the most conspicuous consequences of which had been Henry's support for Philippe IV in his dispute with Boniface VIII¹⁶⁹ and the election of Henry's brother, Baudouin, to the see of Trier.¹⁷⁰ While Philippe V le Long's relations with John did not extend beyond one French embassy (of unknown outcome) in 1321,¹⁷¹ the reign of Charles IV le Bel witnessed a growing rapprochement. The first clear sign of this was the marriage of John's sister, Marie, to the last Capetian king. Further indications are evident in the joint pilgrimage to Rocamadour undertaken by Charles and John in 1323, and John's decision to rename his son, Wenceslas, as Charles, and to place him under the care of his new namesake.¹⁷² Although Marie's death in 1324

¹⁶⁸ *Chronique de Richard Lescot*, pp. 26, 30–32, 36. Also: Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 135–36; *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 128, 135–37, 146, 328.

¹⁶⁹ Welvert, 'Philippe le Bel et la maison de Luxembourg', p. 182.

¹⁷⁰ J. Schoos, 'Die Familie der Luxemburger. Geschichte einer Dynastie', in *Balduin von Luxemburg, Erzbischof von Trier — Kurfürst des Reiches 1285–1354. Festschrift aus Anlaß des 700. Geburtsjahres*, ed. by J. Mötsch and F.-J. Heyen, *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhheinischen Kirchengeschichte*, 53 (Mainz: Verlag der Gesellschaft für mittelhheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1985), pp. 119–49 (pp. 133–34).

¹⁷¹ Lehugeur, I, 218.

¹⁷² M. Margue, 'Jean de Luxembourg et les rois de France', in *Un itinéraire européen. Jean l'Aveugle, comte de Luxembourg et roi de Bohême 1296–1346*, ed. by M. Margue and J. Schroeder (Luxembourg: CLUEM, 1996), pp. 51–86 (pp. 59–61).

may have been followed by a dip in Franco-Luxembourg relations,¹⁷³ the second quarter of the fourteenth century saw the establishment of a unique relationship between John and Philippe VI.

John was more than simply an ally to the first Valois king; he became Philippe's leading councillor and his most powerful military supporter. The closeness of Valois-Luxembourg ties was evident from the very beginning of Philippe's reign: in February 1328, Philippe, at the moment when he took up residence in the Palais de la Cité, bestowed the Valois's principal Parisian residence, the Hôtel de Nesle, upon John.¹⁷⁴ It was compounded and symbolized by the establishment of a series of dynastic ties: the marriages of John's son, the future Charles IV, to Philippe's sister, Blanche de Valois, and, in 1332, of Philippe's heir, the future Jean II, to Bonne de Luxembourg, and, in December 1334, of John himself, to Béatrice, daughter of Louis de Bourbon, grandson of Louis IX.¹⁷⁵ The essence of the new relationship was enshrined in the January 1332 treaty of Fontainebleau and reached its formal apogee in the appointment of John as the King's lieutenant in the Languedoc (30 November 1338).¹⁷⁶

This newfound closeness, and the fact that it did not escape contemporaries, is enshrined in an illumination introducing a collection of notes, compiled in 1336, concerned with the questionable activities of Robert III d'Artois (1287-1343). Here, in a full-page illumination of the hearing at the Louvre at which Robert was condemned (8 April 1332),¹⁷⁷ John, clearly identifiable by his arms,

¹⁷³ Ibid., pp. 64–67.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 67.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 71.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 71, 74. For a detailed examination of John's relationship with first Charles IV and later Philippe VI: P. Contamine, 'Politique, culture et sentiment dans l'Occident de la fin du Moyen Âge: Jean l'Aveugle et la royauté française', in *Johann der Blinde, Graf von Luxemburg, König von Böhmen 1296-1346: Tagungsband der 9^{es} journées lotharingiennes*, 22.-26. Oktober 1996, Centre universitaire de Luxembourg, ed. by M. Pauly (Luxembourg: Section historique de l'Institut Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, 1997), pp. 343–61.

¹⁷⁷ For the dating: Margue, 'Jean de Luxembourg', pp. 75–77. For an account of the events that led up to the condemnation of Robert for producing forged letters in support of his claims to the county of Artois: *Grandes Chroniques*, ix, 108–11, 123–26. Robert's fraudulent activities and condemnation are analyzed in J. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 'Le procès de Robert d'Artois', *Bulletins de l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, 2nd series, 10 (1860), 641–69; 11 (1861), 107–25; R. Cazelles, *La*

is depicted as more than simply one of the king's counsellors (plate 1). Like Philippe's cousin, Philippe d'Évreux, king of Navarre, John was elevated above the peers of France, both lay and ecclesiastical, by his royal rank. Strikingly, however, Philippe d'Évreux is depicted sitting behind and to the right of John, from where he addressed Philippe VI with one hand placed upon John's shoulder. The latter is, consequently, not only the closest figure to the Valois king, but also the only lay figure with an unmediated connection to him. This is reinforced by the fact that while Philippe addressed himself to both kings it is John's hand gesture alone, not that of Philippe d'Évreux, that effectively forms the connection between Philippe VI and the lay peers.¹⁷⁸ The King of Bohemia's dramatic death on the fields of Crécy masked any hint that this close relationship was beginning to show signs of strain in the early 1340s.¹⁷⁹

Yet John had been not simply Philippe's closest ally; he had been also Ludwig's. John's relationship with the Duke of Bavaria was a chequered one: Ludwig's most stalwart supporter prior to the battle of Mühldorf, their relationship became increasingly strained after 1323, initially over the question of the margraviate of Brandenburg, and later over the Tyrol. Mutual hostility continued to simmer until John did homage for his imperial lands for the first time in 1339. This reconciliation was short-lived and a definitive split came in 1341, again over the question of the Tyrolian inheritance.¹⁸⁰ If French attitudes towards the Duke of Bavaria, particularly those developed in the Saint-Denis tradition, are to be properly understood, it is through the

société politique et la crise de la royauté sous Philippe de Valois (Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1958), pp. 75–105.

¹⁷⁸ Paris, BnF, MS français, 18437, fol. 2^r (plate 1). John's appearance here has been noted but its significance has not been appreciated fully: J. Petit, *Luxembourg dans les Grandes Chroniques de France* (Luxembourg: Saint-Paul, 1982), p. 89; Margue, 'Jean de Luxembourg', p. 77; Contamine, 'Politique, culture et sentiment', p. 351. A degree of artistic license appears to have been employed as Robert himself, identifiable by his arms in the lower section of the illumination, had actually fled France in 1331 and refused to attend the hearing that condemned him.

¹⁷⁹ Margue, 'Jean de Luxembourg', pp. 83–86.

¹⁸⁰ For Luxembourg-Wittelsbach relations: M. Pauly, 'Jean de Luxembourg et l'Empire germanique', in *Un itinéraire européen. Jean l'Aveugle, comte de Luxembourg et roi de Bohême 1296–1346*, ed. by M. Margue and J. Schroeder (Luxembourg: CLUDEM, 1996), pp. 29–50.

prism of a largely positive disposition towards John that they must be viewed.¹⁸¹

The dispute between Ludwig and Friedrich der Schöne over their competing claims to the imperial throne¹⁸² received much attention from French writers.¹⁸³ John's peculiar status as an ally of both Philippe and Ludwig helps to clarify a number of points. Firstly, it explains why those writing after the late 1320s, while making clear their view that the Duke of Bavaria's dispute with John XXII disqualified him from legitimately claiming the imperial title, implicitly accepted that he, and not Friedrich, had been duly elected in 1314. Although French sources tended to continue to refer to both disputants as 'dukes' and Ludwig was never accredited with the imperial title,¹⁸⁴ later writers emphasized that it was the Duke of Bavaria who had been chosen by the majority of the electors. For example, while Guillaume de Nangis's second continuator, writing before 1317, noted only that the election had been divided,¹⁸⁵ Guillaume's third continuator added a new version of events in which it was made clear that Ludwig had received the majority of the vote.¹⁸⁶ It was Ludwig's argument that he had been elected peaceably and was therefore

¹⁸¹ For later-fourteenth-century attitudes towards John, but not those developed prior to the mid-century: E. Voltmer, 'Johann der Blinde in der italienischen und französischen Chronistik seiner Zeit', in *Johann der Blinde, Graf von Luxemburg, König von Böhmen 1296-1346: Tagungsband der 9^{es} journées lotharingiennes*, 22.-26. Oktober 1996, *Centre universitaire de Luxembourg*, ed. by M. Pauly (Luxembourg: Section historique de l'Institut Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, 1997), pp. 37-81.

¹⁸² For the course of the dispute: Thomas, *Ludwig*, pp. 43-69.

¹⁸³ Second Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 411; *Grandes Chroniques* (BnF, fr. 10132 version), in *RHGF*, XXI, p. 684; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, pp. 41-42, 49, 53, 60, 62, 67-68; Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 6-8, 22, 45, 53-54, 73-74; Continuation of the annals of Rouen for 1282-1343, *E Chronici Rotomagensis continuatione*, p. 348; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 349 and IX, 16, 29-30, 57-58.

¹⁸⁴ For example: *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, pp. 62, 64, 67, 68; *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 29. The description *Bajoariae* or *de Baviera* and phrases such as 'qui pro imperatore tunc temporis se gerebat' (*Chronique de Richard Lescot*, p. 47) were not uncommon.

¹⁸⁵ Second Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 411.

¹⁸⁶ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 6. Both versions appeared in *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, pp. 41-42, 49; neither in the 1340s *Grandes Chroniques*.

entitled to papal benediction, that found a place in the *Grandes Chroniques*,¹⁸⁷ and Ludwig, even before the 1330s, who was perceived to have undergone the correct inaugural ceremonies at the correct location.¹⁸⁸ Only the metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris, begun in late 1312 or early 1313 (after which it was written near-contemporaneously to the events it described),¹⁸⁹ noted the brief candidatures¹⁹⁰ of Louis de Nevers¹⁹¹ and Guillaume de Hainaut-Holland.¹⁹² Only Jean de Saint-Victor¹⁹³ alluded to John of Bohemia's own failed imperial candidature.¹⁹⁴

With certain clear reservations French historians chose to consider Ludwig the German ruler much as they had considered Richard of Cornwall the duly constituted German ruler. This requires some explanation because, as in Richard's case, there existed a perfectly credible alternative candidate, Friedrich, to whom sympathy might have been accorded. Although Ludwig's legitimacy was not endorsed in the way that Richard's was, and no writer was actively prepared to defend the Duke of Bavaria's claims, Dionysian writers, in particular, extended an extraordinary degree of tolerance to him and made every effort to provide him with 'mitigating circumstances'. The primary reason lay, quite simply, in the fact that *ot le duc de Baviere de sa partie le roy de Boesme*.¹⁹⁵

Whatever Ludwig's faults, Friedrich's must have been decidedly worse, because it was Friedrich that John 'heroically' defeated at the battle of

¹⁸⁷ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 344.

¹⁸⁸ Second Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 411; Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 6–7; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, pp. 41–42, 49. For French perceptions of the 'correct' location for ceremonies relating to the creation of a king of the Romans, see chapter eight.

¹⁸⁹ Dunbabin, 'Metrical Chronicle', p. 235.

¹⁹⁰ For details of these candidatures: H. S. Lucas, 'The Low Countries and the Disputed Imperial Election of 1314', *Speculum*, 21 (1946), 72–114 (pp. 75–87, 87–94).

¹⁹¹ *La Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, ed. by A. Diverres (Strasbourg: Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1956), lines 5341–44, p. 192.

¹⁹² *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, lines 5345–48, p. 192.

¹⁹³ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 658.

¹⁹⁴ For details of John's candidature: Lucas, 'Low Countries', pp. 94–96; Pauly, 'Jean de Luxembourg', pp. 33–35.

¹⁹⁵ From an account of the battle of Mühldorf: *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 29.

Mühldorf.¹⁹⁶ A depiction of John as the victor at Mühldorf itself owed much to the imagination of the Saint-Denis scriptorium: in reality Ludwig owed his victory more to the burgrave of Nuremberg and Friedrich's bad tactics.¹⁹⁷ Yet not only were accounts of the battle chiefly a description of the great benefits that accrued to John as a consequence of the victory, but the desire to emphasize the King of Bohemia's good character explains why Friedrich was denounced as being in league with the Saracens.¹⁹⁸ In contrast, the non-Dionysian continuation of Pierre Honoré's *Grandes Chroniques* compilation, completed before the blossoming of Valois-Luxembourg relations in the 1330s, did not note John's participation at Mühldorf, made no reference to Saracens amongst Friedrich's supporters, and was, on the whole, much less favourable to Ludwig.¹⁹⁹

John's decision to pursue his own independent Italian policy in the wake of Ludwig's *Romzug*,²⁰⁰ and his concomitant break with the would-be emperor, lie at the heart of a sudden Dionysian loss of interest in the Duke of Bavaria. With exception made for condemning Ludwig's alliance with Edward III, the Wittelsbach simply faded from the French page at this point: as the 1340s Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques* put it when noting John's entry into Italy: 'Et depuis lors commença moult la fortune dudit Baviere à décroistre, et ne parloit-on mais pou ou noient de lui'.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 62; Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 53–54; *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 29–30. Cf. Petit's view that John failed to emerge as an heroic figure in the *Grandes Chroniques: Luxembourg*, pp. 188–89.

¹⁹⁷ Pauly, 'Jean de Luxembourg', p. 46.

¹⁹⁸ *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 62. Also: Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 53; *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 29. A second version of the battle which did not mention John also appeared in: *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 49; Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 7–8.

¹⁹⁹ *Grandes Chroniques* (BnF fr. 10132 version), in *RHGF*, XXI, 684. While not found in Latin Dionysian sources this account has similarities with *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 37. The BnF fr. 10132 compilation suggested that John undertook a mythical crusade in 1328: *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 334–35.

²⁰⁰ M. Margue, 'La conquête de l'Italie du Nord', in *Un itinéraire européen. Jean l'Aveugle, comte de Luxembourg et roi de Bohême 1296–1346*, ed. by M. Margue and J. Schroeder (Luxembourg: CLUDEM, 1996), pp. 87–109.

²⁰¹ *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 122, following *Chronique de Richard Lescot*, p. 24. Cf. Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 123–24.

The consequences of a desire to render a positive portrayal of the King of Bohemia provide a partial explanation for a further aspect of the northern French approach to imperial rulers in the first half of the fourteenth century. The genealogy of King Charles IV's wife, Marie, was by no means ignored even before the emergence of Philippe VI's close relationship with John of Bohemia: her familial relations with Henry VII and John were noted by the continuators of Pierre Honoré's *Grandes Chroniques*²⁰² and in what appears to have been a fragment of a *Grandes Chroniques* text for the years 1322-23 appended to a collection of judgements given in the Norman Exchequer.²⁰³ That Henry VII had been the father of John and Marie de Luxembourg, and grandfather of Bonne de Luxembourg, became, under Dionysian pens, a key element in the construction of an exulted past which would not only provide a genealogy fitting to the wives of Charles le Bel²⁰⁴ and the future Jean II,²⁰⁵ but glorify Philippe VI's friend.²⁰⁶

In the period that followed the establishment of Philippe de Valois and John's close ties, the praise of the Luxembourg dynasty appears to have become one of the basic tenets of the Saint-Denis scriptorium.²⁰⁷ For example, when translating the list, given by Guillaume de Nangis in his *Gesta Philippi*, of those who took part in Philippe III's war against Alfonso X, the 1340s *Grandes Chroniques* took care to 'rectify' Guillaume's 'omission' of the Count of

²⁰² *Grandes Chroniques* (BnF fr. 10132 version), in *RHGF*, xxi, 677.

²⁰³ *Grandes Chroniques* (Rouen Version), in *RHGF*, xxi, 677, n. 7. The editors's description of this manuscript (J. D. Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF*, xxi, 677) is inadequate and it has not proved possible to identify it. Samaran suggested that it may be a loose-leaf not included in the catalogue of the Archives départementales of Seine-Maritime: C. Samaran, 'Jean de Saint-Victor, chroniqueur', *HLF*, 41 (1981), 1-32 (p. 22). Equally, it may pertain to a manuscript in the Bibliothèque municipale of Rouen.

²⁰⁴ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 40; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 58; *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 4, 31.

²⁰⁵ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 133; *Chronique de Richard Lescot*, p. 29; *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 132.

²⁰⁶ For a discussion of the important role attributed to genealogy by chroniclers and the key part it played in shaping the structure of their texts: G. M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 104-10.

²⁰⁷ Petit noted that the dynastic rapprochement contributed to a positive portrayal of Henry in the *Grandes Chroniques: Luxembourg*, p. 188. His view that this was also a form of covert criticism of Philippe IV seems less probable: *Luxembourg*, p. 187.

Luxembourg, Henry V (1247–81).²⁰⁸ Similarly, the version of the battle of Worringen (5 June 1288), offered by the *Grandes Chroniques*, which witnessed the death of Count Henry VI and his brothers, was much expanded from that given by Guillaume in his universal history, and now featured an extended Luxembourg genealogy.²⁰⁹ In such a context it is not surprising to find Henry's claim to the imperial title unquestioned and lengthy accounts given of his descent into Italy and imperial coronation.²¹⁰

It became appropriate that past Franco-Luxembourg relations, in reality only firmly established in the late 1320s, should be depicted in the best possible light. It was in this spirit that the candidature of Charles de Valois in 1308, the often-tense relations between Philippe IV and Henry, particularly the former's support for his Angevin relation Robert d'Anjou, and the breakdown in relations between Pope Clement and Henry, were simply 'forgotten'.²¹¹ Only a passing reference was made to Clement's decision to annul Henry's sentence against Robert, the Pope otherwise being depicted throughout as the Emperor's firm supporter.²¹² Robert d'Anjou, in contrast, became the focus of opposition to Henry. The Saint-Denis continuator of Géraud de Frachet's chronicle even aired the rumour that the King of Sicily might have been responsible for Henry's death by poisoning, although he also noted that if Henry's death was not the result of a fever he believed the Florentines the more likely culprits.²¹³ While refraining from passing overt judgement on the dispute, Dionysian sympathy could distinctly be seen to lie with Henry. It was *duel et pitié* that the *preu, hardi, chevalereux et très noble en ses fais* Henry, whose *bonté et [...] valeur croissoient de jour en jour*, had died, because: 's'il eust gueres plus vescu, il eust conquis toute Ytalie et mise toute souz sa puissance et seignourie'.²¹⁴

²⁰⁸ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 65. Cf. *Gesta Philippi Regis Franciae, filii sanctae memoriae regis Ludovici*, p. 504.

²⁰⁹ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 131–35. Cf. Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 273.

²¹⁰ *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, pp. 35, 36, 38; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 266–69, 279, 281–83, 286.

²¹¹ Concerning the Angevin-Luxembourg dispute and Philippe's part in it: Bowsky, *Henry*, pp. 184–209, 256–57.

²¹² *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 39; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 290–91.

²¹³ *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 39. Also: *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 291–92. Cf. *Fragment d'une chronique anonyme, finissant en M.CCC.XXVIII*, pp. 150–51.

²¹⁴ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 292.

This failure to support Robert d'Anjou, the head of a Capetian cadet branch, might seem, at first glance, a little paradoxical. To some extent it demonstrates the lengths Dionysian writers were prepared to go to in order to paint a positive portrait of Henry's character. At the same time it is also almost certainly a reflection of a certain coolness in Angevin-Valois relations. Philippe Contamine has suggested that a degree of misunderstanding between Robert and Philippe VI existed from as early as the latter's failed Italian expedition in the 1320s.²¹⁵ A decade later, Robert was clearly irked by the Valois king's willingness to allow French lords to participate in John of Bohemia's Italian venture and he was simply infuriated when Philippe agreed to 'buy out' John's claims to the city of Lucca. In addition, it is unlikely that Robert looked favourably upon plans which would have seen the French king become overlord of the kingdom of Arles.²¹⁶ Large Provençal contingents were notable by their absence from the battles Philippe fought in the 1340s;²¹⁷ it is, perhaps, less than surprising that a sense of familial solidarity was equally absent from pages written at Saint-Denis in the course of Philippe's reign.

It is possible that Valois attitudes towards the Luxembourg influenced French writers beyond Saint-Denis in their approach to, and decision to include, accounts of Henry's reign. For example, neither the continuator of the annals of Rouen²¹⁸ nor Landolpho of Colonna²¹⁹ mentioned Henry's dispute with Philippe or Robert, while both recorded Henry's relations with Clement only in positive terms. Bernard Gui may provide a further, more complex, example. In 1331, the year in which Gui presented the final version of his *Flores chronicorum* to Philippe VI, an outright condemnation of either Henry or Ludwig would have been, from a Valois perspective, politically insensitive. However, Gui's long-standing and close association with the papacy, particularly with Pope John XXII, would have made it difficult for him to do

²¹⁵ P. Contamine, 'À l'ombre des fleurs de lis. Les rapports entre les rois de France Valois et les Angevins de Naples et de Provence (1320–1382)', in *Les princes angevins du XIII^e au XV^e siècle. Un destin européen. (Actes des journées d'étude des 15 et 16 juin 2001 organisées par l'université d'Angers et les Archives départementales de Maine-et-Loire)*, ed. by N.-Y. Tonnerre and E. Verry (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003), pp. 117–30 (p. 119).

²¹⁶ Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, pp. 401–02.

²¹⁷ Contamine, 'À l'ombre des fleurs de lis', p. 121.

²¹⁸ Continuation of the annals of Rouen for 1282–1343, *E Chronici Rotomagensis continuatione*, pp. 347, 348.

²¹⁹ *E Breviario historiarum Landulphi de Columna*, pp. 197–98.

anything but record such a condemnation. This apparent impasse may explain Gui's decision to include the details of Henry's reign only up until the latter began to encounter resistance in Lombardy.²²⁰ Further events relating to the Empire, including Henry's dispute with Robert, the ensuing decline in relations with Clement, and Ludwig's dispute with Pope John, were simply passed over in silence. Yet if Valois-Luxembourg relations explain much concerning the depiction of Henry VII and Ludwig, they leave a number of important questions unanswered.

Between 1315 and 1320 the satirical *Roman de Fauvel*, written originally by Gervès du Bus (d. c. 1350), a notary in Philippe IV's chancery and chaplain to Enguerran de Marigny,²²¹ was transformed into a more direct critique of Philippe's government by Chaillou de Pesstain. The circumstances surrounding this restructuring remain unclear, although it has been proposed recently that those responsible were most likely a group of ambitious Paris-based lawyers, notaries, and administrators at the start of their careers.²²² What is known is that by 1339 the work had come into the possession of the lawyer and sometime *avocat du roi en parlement*, Gérard de Montaigu.²²³ Into the margins of the manuscript containing Chaillou de Pesstain's version a poem was glossed in which the Dominicans were violently denounced for poisoning:

rectorem mundi mire,
 Florum florem,
 Henricum imperatorem²²⁴

How is the poet's positive presentation of Henry to be explained? The same question may be asked of another text incorporated into this manuscript, the

²²⁰ *Flores chronicorum*, pp. 718–19, 720; *Fragmenta Libelli de ordine praedicatorum, auctore Bernardo Guidonis*, ed. by J. D. Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF*, xxi, 735–51 (p. 738). Gui's *Reges francorum* recorded Marie's relationship with Henry and John in terms similar to the Dionysian accounts: *Reges francorum* in *Flores Chronicorum*, p. 732.

²²¹ Concerning Enguerran de Marigny: J. Favier, *Un conseiller de Philippe le Bel: Enguerran de Marigny* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1963).

²²² Rouse and Rouse, I, 225–33. Cf. Avril, no. 193, p. 288.

²²³ For a reconstruction of what can be known of Gérard's life: Rouse and Rouse, I, 217–25.

²²⁴ Paris, BnF, MS fr. 146, fol. 2^r, ed. by G. Paris, 'Le roman de Fauvel', *HLF*, 32 (1898), 108–53 (pp. 149–50).

metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris.²²⁵ Here the Angevin-Luxembourg dispute formed an important thread in which Henry was portrayed in positive terms²²⁶ and in which the possibility of the Emperor's poisoning was at least entertained.²²⁷ The latter point is important as Franck Collard has suggested that an acceptance of the idea that Henry was poisoned tended to be associated with writers favourable to the Emperor, often pro-imperialists.²²⁸

Attitudes towards the Avesnes dynasty, towards Alfonso X of Castile, Anglo-German relations, and Valois-Luxembourg relations do much to explain the attention paid to certain rulers and would-be rulers of the Empire and the nature of this attention. Yet later Valois-Luxembourg relations do little, for example, to explain why the second continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, whose work, a product of the Saint-Denis scriptorium completed by 1317, gave a detailed and largely favourable account of Henry's election and negotiations with Clement,²²⁹ his descent into Italy and Roman coronation,²³⁰ and his struggle with Robert.²³¹ Nor do they account for the concern over Henry's reign taken by a number of other writers before the 1330s such as Jean de Saint-Victor,²³² or the note made of the imperial election by Simon de

²²⁵ Composed originally as an independent work this survives only as an 'edited' version in BnF, MS fr. 146: Dunbabin, 'Metrical Chronicle', pp. 235, 238, 246.

²²⁶ *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, lines 3729–44, p. 162; lines 3884–934, pp. 165–66; lines 4399–442, pp. 174–75. See my comments in the conclusion on this positive portrayal of Henry.

²²⁷ *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, lines 5234–308, pp. 190–91.

²²⁸ F. Collard, 'L'Empereur et le poison: de la rumeur au mythe. À propos du prétendu empoisonnement d'Henri VII en 1313', *Médiévales*, 41 (2001), 113–31. In his brief analysis of the French material relating to Henry's death, Collard suggests that the author of the chronicle attributed to Geffroy was sceptical of the claim Henry had been poisoned: 'L'Empereur et le poison', pp. 128–29. This may be the case, but Geoffroi still offers a lengthy and extremely detailed account which includes even John of Bohemia's reprisals for his father's murder.

²²⁹ Second Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, 1, 370–71, 372.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 381–82, 385–87, 392–94.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 394, 397–98 (the source for much of the material employed in later Dionysian texts).

²³² *Memoriale historiarum*, pp. 652, 654, 655–56, 657–58. Jean reported the rumour that Henry had been poisoned but noted that this had been questioned: *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 657.

Châteauneuf.²³³ Similarly they do little to account for the details of Ludwig's *Romzug* given in Dionysian²³⁴ and other sources, such as the continuation of Pierre Honoré's compilation²³⁵ and the annals of Rouen,²³⁶ a venture in which John of Bohemia did not participate. A more complete explanation of attitudes towards Henry and Ludwig, in common with an explanation of the prominence accorded to Frederick II's deposition and the tendency to ignore the strained relations between the Capetians and the Habsburgs, lies beyond the concerns raised by specific contemporary issues, such as Valois-Luxembourg relations or the promotion of Louis IX's sanctity.

²³³ *Anonymum S. Martialis Chronicon ab anno M. CC. VII. ad ann. M. CCC. XX.*, p. 144. Henry is not actually named in this account.

²³⁴ *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 69; Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 82, 86–88, 113; *Chronique de Richard Lescot*, pp. 1–2, 17, 19, 22; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 339; and IX, 64–65, 75–76, 112–13.

²³⁵ *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 337, 339.

²³⁶ Continuation of the annals of Rouen for 1282–1343, *Ex Annalium Rotomagensium continuationibus*, p. 505.

CHARLEMAGNE – THE UBIQUITOUS EMPEROR

The last Hohenstaufen emperor was the most conspicuous of contemporary rulers of the Empire on the French page. The mark Frederick II left upon the mental landscape of northern France was, however, insignificant in comparison to that made by the first Carolingian emperor. Charlemagne saturated northern French culture. An omnipresent figure, the Frankish emperor was a stock character in the *chansons de geste* and appeared in material as varied as the stained glass at Chartres, the praise heaped upon Louis VIII by Philippe Mousket, Louis IX's representations to Innocent IV, a sermon preached in the course of Philippe IV's Flanders campaign, and the statues of the Grand'salle of the Palais de la Cité. To understand the place occupied by Charlemagne in French thought is therefore to understand perceptions of the figure most prominently associated with the Empire in thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century France. This prominence arose as a consequence of multiple factors, but the most important was undoubtedly connected with the problem of proving the legitimacy of the Capetian dynasty.

Although the last Carolingian, Louis V, died childless, the Capetian kings did not succeed altogether neatly to their predecessors. Hugues Capet certainly established himself as king in 987, but he did so only through the imprisonment of two rivals who had much better dynastic claims on the crown, Charles de Lorraine, uncle of Louis V, and Charles' son, Louis.¹ For the first Capetian

¹ A. Luchaire, *Les Premiers Capétiens (987-1137)*, Histoire de France illustrée depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution, 2:1 (Paris: Hachette, 1901), pp. 144–53; F. Lot, *Études sur le règne de Hugues Capet et la fin du X^e siècle* (Paris: Bouillon, 1903), pp. 1–30, 170–73. Although significant for later generations, the importance of this change of dynasty in a tenth-century context should not be exaggerated. For a useful summary of present perspectives on this latter point: E. M. Hallam and J. Everard, *Capetian France 987-1328*, 2nd edn (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001), pp. 25–31; for a bibliography

kings this was not felt to be a problem to which it was necessary to devote great energy: their preoccupation remained that of maintaining their tenuous position as the effective rulers of the Île-de-France region.² Yet the quandary was one with which the Capetian kings themselves, and those within the northern French cultural milieu more widely, came increasingly to struggle. From Philippe Auguste's reign the Capetians and their supporters offered a vigorous defence of the new dynasty's right to the French crown.

It was not enough that Philippe Auguste and Louis VIII should consolidate and expand Capetian influence, or even, indeed, that the dynasty should produce a saint in the form of Louis IX. It was equally necessary that it should be demonstrated that Hugues Capet had not disenfranchised the Carolingians. The prominence that a role in validating the legitimacy of the Capetian dynasty accorded to Charlemagne and other Carolingian emperors raises the question of how their imperial status was perceived in France. In particular, it raises the issue of how the Capetian-Valois kings' own relationship with the contemporary Empire was perceived in the light of their predecessors' possession of the imperial title.

The Carolingians and Capetian Legitimacy

In 800 Charlemagne had acquired the title of Roman Emperor. From the point at which, by the treaty of Verdun (843), the Frankish king's empire was divided into three parts by his descendants,³ the imperial title enjoyed a varied fate until it was seized upon by Otto I in 962 and became the possession of first the Saxon, and later the Salian, and Hohenstaufen dynasties.⁴ The Carolingians,

of recent material relating to the change of dynasty: Hallam and Everard, *Capetian France*, p. 433.

² J.-F. Lemaignier, *Le Gouvernement royal aux premiers temps capétiens (987–1108)* (Paris: Picard, 1965); F. Menant, 'De Hugues Capet à Philippe I^{er}, les rois du XI^e siècle', in *Les Capétiens. Histoire et dictionnaire 987–1328*, ed. by F. Menant (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1999), pp. 26–53.

³ For the treaty and the circumstances which led up to it: R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms Under the Carolingians 751–987* (London: Longman, 1983), pp. 172–73.

⁴ Concerning the development of the imperial idea under the Saxon and succeeding dynasties: B. Arnold, *Medieval Germany, 500–1300: A Political Interpretation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 78–107; B. Schneidmüller, *Die Kaiser des Mittelalters. Von Karl dem Großen bis Maximilian I.* (Munich: Beck, 2006).

and Charlemagne in particular, enjoyed a no less varied fate, yoked as they became to the promotion of a wide spectrum of causes. In the Empire, this involved, most strikingly, the canonization of Charlemagne in 1165 by Frederick Barbarossa (1152–90),⁵ and the Carolingian emperor's gradual integration into the genealogies of many princely houses.⁶ In France, Charlemagne was transformed from an essentially literary hero,⁷ the central figure of *chansons de geste* such as the *Chanson de Roland*, into an important component of the later Capetians's efforts to establish their legitimacy. The process of transformation continues today and is exemplified by the city of Aachen's 'Charlemagne prize' which since 1950 has been awarded to individuals for the promotion of peace and European unity.⁸

Despite the practical consolidation of Capetian kingship, Hugues Capet's displacement of Louis V and his heirs left a lingering sensitivity to the precariousness of the theoretical foundations of the new dynasty. As Bernard Guenée has suggested, in a world where novelty was unacceptable, historical argument was the medium through which the present could be justified adequately. Consequently it was an historical argument for dynastic continuity which became the foundation stone of legitimacy for not simply the Capetians but for dynasties across western Europe.⁹ The process in relation to the Capetians was less straightforward than has been often assumed and the

⁵ Concerning the Frankish past in Barbarossa's thought: R. Folz, *L'Idée d'Empire en Occident du V^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Aubier, 1953), pp. 113–15.

⁶ R. Folz, *Les saints rois du moyen âge en occident (VI^e–XIII^e siècles)*, *Subsidia hagiographica*, 68 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984), pp. 91, 146–48.

⁷ For a summary of Charlemagne's development in the post-Carolingian literary tradition: R. Folz, *Le couronnement impérial de Charlemagne 25 décembre 800* (Paris: Gallimard, 1964), pp. 246–53.

⁸ I have not encountered any studies of the significance of the 'Charlemagne award' in modern European culture. For a short history of the prize and the awarding body's own view see: <<http://www.karlspreis.de>> [accessed 15 September 2006].

⁹ Guenée, *Histoire et culture*, pp. 346–49. If undoubtedly the most important, dynastic continuity was not the only legitimizing tool with its foundations in an essentially 'historical' argument linking past with present. The numbering of French kings, first introduced systematically by Primat and later employed by Guillaume de Nangis and Bernard Gui, was itself adopted with the intention of reinforcing an argument for the continuity of French kingship: A.-M. Lamarrigue, 'La rédaction d'un catalogue des rois de France. Guillaume de Nangis et Bernard Gui', in *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. by F. Autrand, C. Gauvard, and J.-M. Moeglin (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), pp. 481–92.

traditional interpretation, summed up in Schramm's theory of *renovatio imperii Karoli magni*, has been recently thrown into some doubt. Charlemagne's reception was neither as positive nor as uniform as it has been often considered.¹⁰ As Gérard Sivéry has highlighted, Gilles le Parisien used Charlemagne as a device for criticising Philippe Auguste¹¹ and a member of the King's own inner circle, Étienne de Gaillardon, attacked the idea of the *reditus regni francorum ad stirpem Caroli imperatoris* and promoted Philippe himself as the founder of a new dynasty.¹² Elizabeth Brown has gone so far as to suggest that Philippe and his supporters possessed sufficient confidence in Capetian legitimacy not to seek to emulate other noble houses in constructing lines of Carolingian descent and preferred to place their emphasis upon the emulation of Charlemagne's deeds.¹³ Nevertheless, later generations seem to have lacked Philippe Auguste's confidence. Charlemagne, and the Carolingians more generally, were employed first in an argument for the *reditus* concept,¹⁴ and later, during Philippe IV's reign, as part of a quite opposed, if not altogether accepted, argument for the unbroken succession of French kingship.

¹⁰ Compare with the view expressed in R. Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique médiéval* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1950; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1973), pp. 277–79; P. E. Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich, Das Wesen der Monarchie vom 9. zum 16. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols (Weimar: Böhlau, 1960), 1, 177–92; Krynén, *L'Empire*, p. 385.

¹¹ Sivéry, *Louis VIII*, pp. 50–51.

¹² Sivéry, *Louis VIII*, pp. 77–79, 205.

¹³ E. A. R. Brown, 'La notion de la légitimité et la prophétie à la cour de Philippe Auguste', in *La France de Philippe Auguste: le temps des mutations. Actes du Colloque international organisé par le CNRS (Paris, 29 septembre–4 octobre 1980)*, ed. by R.-H. Bautier (Paris: CNRS, 1982), pp. 77–111 (pp. 77–95). John Baldwin makes a similar point, noting that no one in Philippe's entourage attempted to connect the King's bloodline with that of the Carolingians until the end of his reign and suggests that from the King's perspective the key to his legitimacy lay in his consecration: Baldwin, pp. 371–72, 374. It must be noted, however, that neither Brown nor Baldwin adequately account for Philippe's decision to name his bastard son Pierre Charlot (Baldwin, p. 371, n. 67; Brown, 'La notion de la légitimité', p. 80, n. 18). For further discussion of the idea that Capetian legitimacy was firmly established by Philippe Auguste's reign and that the *reditus* was not primarily intended as a tool to support the dynasty's right to the French throne: Spiegel, *Past as Text*, pp. 111–37.

¹⁴ For the development of the idea: A. W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 107–22.

The desire to establish a satisfactory defence of dynastic legitimacy clearly had a profound influence upon the French court and led to acts such as the rearrangement of the royal tomb layout at Saint-Denis. Louis IX, with the intention of demonstrating that the Carolingian and Capetian dynasties had been brought together in the person of Louis VIII, was the first to conduct such a rearrangement.¹⁵ In 1306 Philippe IV repeated this exercise with the intention of erasing the pattern established by his grandfather and hence any suggestion that there had been any dynastic break in the line of French kings.¹⁶ These ideas impacted upon the French cultural milieu more widely through the spread of works which sought to uphold the Capetian argument.

Louis's contemporaries Primat¹⁷ and Vincent de Beauvais¹⁸ both featured the *reditus* concept in their work. Equally, the Dionysians, in particular, appear to have made every effort to co-operate with Philippe IV's attempt to erase the concept: the idea of the *reditus* incorporated into the first recension of Guillaume de Nangis's universal chronicle was largely shown to be an irrelevance in the second recension and was later discredited altogether in a work commissioned by Philippe himself and written by one of Guillaume's fellow Dionysians, Ives.¹⁹ Philippe's new interpretation may also explain why the *reditus* concept was omitted from several versions of Vincent de Beauvais's

¹⁵ A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1975), pp. 81–83.

¹⁶ E. A. R. Brown, 'Burying and Unburying the Kings of France', in *Persons in Groups: Social Behaviour as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe. Papers of the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, ed. by R. C. Trexler, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 36 (Binghamton: State University of New York at Binghamton Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1985), pp. 241–66 (pp. 246–47) (repr. in E. A. R. Brown, *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*, Variorum Collected Studies (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1991)); E. A. R. Brown, 'La généalogie capétienne dans l'historiographie du Moyen Âge. Philippe le Bel, le reniement du *reditus* et la création d'une ascendance carolingienne pour Hugues Capet', in *Religion et culture autour de l'an Mil Royaume capétien et Lotharingie (Actes du colloque Hugues Capet 987–1987. La France de l'an Mil, Auxerre, 26 et 27 juin 1987–Metz, 11 et 12 1987)*, ed. by D. Iogna-Prat and J.-C. Picard (Paris: Picard, 1990), pp. 199–214 (pp. 204–05).

¹⁷ Guenée, '*Grandes Chroniques*', pp. 192–94.

¹⁸ For Vincent's case see chapter one.

¹⁹ Brown, 'Burying and Unburying', p. 247; Brown, 'La généalogie capétienne', pp. 202–04. Cf. Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 384–85.

*Speculum historiale*²⁰ and why Jean de Saint-Victor, writing before 1308, discounted the necessity of the *reditus* by arguing in favour of the succession of Pepin and Hugues Capet through the female line.²¹

The idea of erasing the *reditus* concept may well have been Philippe IV's personal obsession.²² In part it was probably a response to the insinuations of illegitimacy levelled at him by Bernard Saisset, Bishop of Pamiers.²³ More fundamentally, it was also almost certainly a reaction to the rather better claims upon Carolingian descent that were the good fortune of his stepmother, Marie de Brabant, and her children.²⁴ Philippe's approach was probably less attractive to Philippe V, Charles IV, and the first Valois kings, for whom, given the circumstances surrounding their accessions, an argument based upon female succession was particularly unwelcome. It is perhaps not coincidental that the version of the Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques* prepared for the future Jean II and the revised version of the 1340s retained the *reditus* concept as it appeared in the *Gesta Ludovici VIII*, whose summary of the idea was drawn from Vincent's *Speculum*.²⁵

The Imperial Past: Inheritance or Irrelevance?

In a now classic *thèse*, Robert Folz formulated an idea which has become axiomatic to modern historical analysis of French attitudes towards Charlemagne. Folz believed that French interest in Charlemagne automatically contributed to an interest in the Empire, provided an important stimulus and justification for ventures such as the French imperial candidatures, and was important fuel for arguments in favour of the independence of the French kingdom from the Empire.²⁶ The late-thirteenth century did indeed see the link between

²⁰ Brown, 'Prince is Father', p. 315, n. 114.

²¹ *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), in Jean de Saint-Victor. *Traité de la division des royaumes. Introduction à une histoire universelle*, ed. and trans. by I. Guyot-Bachy and D. Poirel, Sous la Règle de saint Augustin, 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 114–284 (p. 256).

²² A further example specific to Philippe's reign is the unbroken list of names on a head-reliquary of Louis IX commissioned by the King: Brown, 'La généalogie capétienne', p. 205.

²³ Brown, 'Prince is Father', p. 313

²⁴ Brown, 'La généalogie capétienne', p. 206.

²⁵ *Grandes Chroniques*, VII, 3, 4–8.

²⁶ Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende*, pp. 279, 298, 306; Folz, *L'Idée d'Empire*, pp. 148–49; Folz, *Le couronnement impérial*, pp. 256–58. For recent examples where this position is

Charlemagne and the Empire strongly emphasized and, as a consequence, a link drawn between the Capetian dynasty and the Empire, yet, as Folz himself made clear, these connections were drawn not in northern France but by the Italian Guelfs, stimulated by Charles d'Anjou's conquest of the *regno*.²⁷

One manuscript of Andrew of Hungary's account of Charles d'Anjou's southern Italian victory, in which Charles was depicted as a second Charlemagne sent to recover the goods of the Empire, is almost the sole testament to the introduction of this Guelf concept into northern France.²⁸ Andrew's account, written in the early 1270s, is certainly worthy of inclusion in a study of French attitudes:²⁹ dedicated to Charles d'Anjou's nephew, Pierre d'Alençon (d. 1284), it was almost certainly conceived with the intention of defending the legitimacy of Charles' actions before a northern French audience.³⁰ Yet Andrew, a former chaplain to two kings of Hungary, was a man who had not been shaped by the sensitivities of the northern French environment and the extent to which his view may be considered representative may be questioned. Régis Rech has proposed that a writer who may be much more firmly situated within the French environment, the Dominican Gérard de Frachet, whose universal chronicle proved influential within the scriptorium of Saint-Denis, developed a comparison between Charlemagne and Charles in essence similar to that developed by the Guelfs.³¹

accepted uncritically: Morrissey, pp. 137–38; Krynen, *L'Empire*, pp. 385–86. The idea underpins Gabrielle Spiegel's interpretation of the role of the *reditus* concept as a tool for legitimizing the expansion and consolidation of Capetian authority: *Past as Text*, pp. 127–37. Similarly, it informs Jim Bradbury's assertion that Philippe Augustus sought 'to present an imperial image of French monarchy': J. Bradbury, *Philip Augustus: King of France 1180–1223* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 220–21.

²⁷ Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende*, pp. 298–304.

²⁸ *Andreae Ungari descriptio victoriae a Karolo Provinciae comite reportatae*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS, 26 pp. 559–80 (pp. 561, 562–63). Andrew's Charlemagne imagery is analyzed: Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende*, pp. 300–01.

²⁹ Sommerlechner catalogued Andrew amongst 'French' sources: Sommerlechner, p. 546.

³⁰ C. Carozzi, 'La victoire de Bénévent et la légitimité de Charles d'Anjou', in *Guerre, pouvoir et noblesse au Moyen Âge. Mélanges en l'honneur de Philippe Contamine*, ed. by J. Paviot and J. Verger (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000), pp. 139–45 (pp. 141–44).

³¹ Rech, *Géraud de Frachet: L'Engagement d'un historien au XIII^e siècle*, pp. 145–46; Rech, 'Géraud de Frachet', p. 432; Rech, 'Charles d'Anjou et le Limousin', pp. 461–65.

Alone, neither Géraud's universal chronicle nor his short history of Aquitaine draw a clear connection between Charles and Charlemagne. Rech's argument hinges upon interpreting both works in the light of a third treatise concerned with Sibylline prophecy. This latter appears in a manuscript originally copied in Italy and in the possession of Charles d'Anjou's doctor, Jean de Nesles.³² While Géraud certainly addressed a copy of his universal chronicle to Charles it is unclear whether the Sibylline material was included by the original author, as Rech appears to have believed, or whether, as seems more probable in the circumstances, it was added by Guelf copyists to the Italian manuscript in order to create precisely their preferred interpretation. The latter view would appear to be reinforced by the fact that the Sibylline material is largely absent from French copies of Géraud's work, appearing in only one thirteenth-century French manuscript.³³ The provenance of this latter — presently at Angers, the administrative centre of the county of Anjou — suggests that it too was connected with Angevin patronage,³⁴ although the precise relationship between Jean de Nesles' manuscript and that at Angers remains unclear.³⁵ Nevertheless, it is striking that the Sibylline material was associated with a relatively small number of copies of Géraud's chronicle and that the relationship between the Sibylline text and the chronicle is, even in

³² Rech, 'Géraud de Frachet', p. 432; Rech, 'Charles d'Anjou et le Limousin', pp. 457-58. Cf. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae regiae*, 4 vols (Paris, 1739-44), iv, 29, which dates this manuscript, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 5005 A, to the fourteenth century.

³³ Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 668: Rech, 'Charles d'Anjou et le Limousin', p. 462. The combination of texts appears in one fourteenth-century manuscript: Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1458. Dating: H. Loriguet, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements, Reims*, 39 (Paris: Plon, 1904), II:2, 680. As the text in the Reims manuscript offers, with the exception of one line, hardly any variation from that in the Angers manuscript (Rech, 'Charles d'Anjou et le Limousin', p. 466) the former is presumably a copy of the latter.

³⁴ It is possible that in the course of the fourteenth century the manuscript may have been at Poitiers: Rech, 'Charles d'Anjou et le Limousin', p. 467.

³⁵ Rech's article concentrates upon BnF, lat. 5005 A. It does not attempt to establish how this latter is related to the Angers manuscript. The similarity between the contents of both manuscripts (Rech, 'Charles d'Anjou et le Limousin' pp. 466-67) suggests that there is some connection between the two.



Plate 1: 'Trial of Robert III d'Artois'. Paris, BnF, MS français, 18437, fol. 2^r. c. 1336. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Le lictisme parole comme le
prince de France et ce me-
mestre attendre pour confier
le peu enu au taigne le Roy et les
peccer de comen le temporel
enuon si pece de ious de la priou
de comen frations des confier
les huns et puis apres comen le
bus requidre seve pour habure
et comen le temporel ataboulon
ait pour tieor la haine des prestes q
atungne le Roy et cene mende de
la mou hie lausse fil temporel
et cela mou le Roy et cene mende
comen rephos le temporel
ster filios de comen tempe-
rio enuon berme son mou agri

LE dixiesme parolle comment l'en-
perence fut orueue: le seruice de
l'antre eglise: et le royaume de frimce: et
puis de meure d'auant la comite: l'at-
tention de la prececion du l'antre eglise
et des menages: et ensuiue d'un l'antre l'antre
preceur de l'antre comite: et de l'antre
accompagnement d'iceux son filz l'antre
le l'antre l'antre: et puis de meure
d'iceux l'antre de l'antre l'antre l'antre
de frimce en d'iceux l'antre pour d'iceux
l'antre de l'antre eglise: de l'antre l'antre
meure l'antre de l'antre l'antre et puis
comite: et ensuiue de l'antre de l'antre
de l'antre l'antre l'antre l'antre l'antre
et de l'antre l'antre l'antre l'antre l'antre
de l'antre l'antre l'antre l'antre l'antre
de l'antre l'antre l'antre l'antre l'antre



meille. J'ai observé que les endures en-
tendus se sentent lairel. La postelle leur
traist la colonne enverral que son-
dref. Les comenent à puer de l'air.

Plate 2: Atelier of Thomas de Maubeuge, *Grandes Chroniques de France*. Paris, BnF, MS français, 10132, fol. 147^r. c. 1318. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

these copies, much less straightforward than Rech suggests.³⁶ It would appear, therefore, that, on the whole, there is little evidence to support the assertion that the prophecy of the coming of an emperor descended from Charlemagne, which the Italian Guelfs associated with Charles d'Anjou, 'se trouva, depuis lors, à l'arrière-plan des candidatures françaises à l'Empire'.³⁷ Folz's assumption, that the inhabitants of northern France drew the same conclusions as those of the Italian peninsula, remains unproven. In fact, it takes little account of the reasons *why* Charlemagne and the Carolingians became important in thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century France.

French writers did not fail to recognize that Charlemagne had become emperor. It is clear that this was both well known and important. Not only did historical writers, such as Philippe Mousket,³⁸ Primat,³⁹ and Vincent de Beauvais,⁴⁰ offer accounts of Charlemagne's reign that were disproportionately long in comparison to other entries, but they also tended to truncate the thirty years of his Frankish kingship (768–800) at the expense of his comparatively brief reign as emperor (800–14). Pierre Honoré's *Grandes Chroniques* exemplifies these trends in its cycle of illuminations:⁴¹ not only were considerably more illuminations dedicated to Charlemagne's reign than any other (ten in comparison to the next largest distribution which was four for Louis IX), but the majority concerned the period after the imperial coronation. At the same time, it was rare for a French source to allow it to be forgotten that the Carolingian emperors had also been kings of France.

³⁶ Following the list of contents given by Rech ('Charles d'Anjou et le Limousin' pp. 466–67) the Sibylline prophecy was separated from Géraud's chronicle by a considerable quantity of other material in both the Angers and Bibliothèque nationale manuscripts. Rech does not attempt to account for this.

³⁷ Folz, *L'Idée d'Empire*, p. 179.

³⁸ Morrissey noted that of the 31,000 octosyllables comprising Mousket's chronicle, 10,000 were devoted to Charlemagne: p. 126.

³⁹ Only book one of the section relating to Charlemagne in the *Roman des rois* dealt with the period prior to 800: *Grandes Chroniques*, III, 1–89. Cf. post-imperial coronation material: *Grandes Chroniques*, III, 90–302.

⁴⁰ Morrissey, p. 133.

⁴¹ Hedeman viewed the cycle as an independent work: p. 37. Cf. Rouse and Rouse, I, 181.

The imperial title possessed by Charlemagne and a certain number of his descendants (normally restricted to Charlemagne's son, Louis le Pieux,⁴² and grandson, Charles le Chauve⁴³), was portrayed, particularly in the Saint-Denis tradition, as simply an adjunct to French kingship. Changes adopted within the Dionysian scriptorium suggest that in the course of the thirteenth-century it became increasingly desirable to emphasize this point. Philippe Auguste's contemporary, Rigord (d. c. 1210), chose to record a list of French rulers in his history of Philippe's reign qualifying Carolingian rulers only with their imperial titles: 'Qui Pipinum regem. Qui Karolum Magnum imperatorem. Qui Ludovicum Pium imperatorem. Qui Karolum Calvum imperatorem'.⁴⁴ Rigord's Dionysian successor Primat, in the course of incorporating this material into the forerunner of the *Grandes Chroniques*, the *traduction-adaptation*⁴⁵ that was his *Roman des rois*, 'translated' this list with an emphasis upon the fact that the Carolingians may have been emperors but they were firstly kings of France: '[. . .] Pepin le secont qui fu rois et empereres. Cil Pepins, le grant Challemaine, qui fu rois et empereres. Challes li granz, Looyz qui fu rois et empereres. Cil Looyz, Challe le Chauz, qui fu rois et empereres [. . .]'.⁴⁶ Despite a concentration upon Charlemagne's 'imperial years', his importance lay not in any claim against, or even on, the Empire that might be derived from his imperial title. It was that Charlemagne and later Carolingians were perceived to have been kings of France that was of fundamental importance: it was a factor which, effectively,

⁴² Louis was clearly recognized as Charlemagne's son by contemporaries, for example: Jean de Saint-Victor, *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), 236, 270. Despite this, at least one writer became confused and appears to have been under the impression that Otto I (912–73) was Charlemagne's son: *Quaestio in utramque partem*, p. 56. This peculiar mistake is convincingly accounted for by Dr Dyson: *Quaestio in utramque partem*, p. 57, n. 5.

⁴³ One French account stated explicitly that up until the year of writing, 1330, no French king had been emperor since Charles le Chauve: Couderc, 'Manuel d'histoire de Philippe VI', p. 425.

⁴⁴ Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, chap. 41, p. 204. For a summary of Rigord's life and literary output: Baldwin, p. 396.

⁴⁵ This highly appropriate description of Primat's work is Isabelle Guyot-Bachy's, 'La diffusion du *Roman des rois*', p. 90.

⁴⁶ *Grandes Chroniques*, VI, 140. Why Primat believed Pepin to have been an emperor remains unclear. Concerning Primat's use of Rigord: G. Pon, *Rigord. Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, pp. 98–99.

eclipsed and subordinated any other characteristics.⁴⁷ The importance of the imperial title lay solely in the fact that it enhanced their magnificence as ancestors or predecessors of the French king.

A number of factors reinforce this interpretation of the significance of the imperial attributes of the Carolingians, and those of Charlemagne in particular, in French thought. One of the most striking is the latter's visual depiction. It has been recently suggested that contemporaries did not associate any precise or

⁴⁷ While not taken up by Rigord, an emphasis on the fact that these rulers had been first and foremost kings of France whatever else they might have been can be found as early as Philippe Auguste's reign in a source connected with the court: the lists of French kings inserted in the administrative Registers C and E. The first of these lists, which also includes the number of years each ruler reigned, reads:

Karolus Magnus rex imperator XLVII
Ludovicus Pius rex et imperator XXVI
Ludovicus Balbus rex et imperator II

ed. by L. Delisle in 'Étienne de Gallardon, clerc de la chancellerie de Philippe-Auguste, chanoine de Bourges', *BEC*, 60 (1899), 5–44 (pp. 21–22). Delisle's edition is based on Register E, a copy of Register C made in August/September 1220 by Étienne de Gallardon. Concerning this copy: Baldwin, p. 413. Charles le Chauve is omitted from the Register E copy: Brown, 'La notion de la légitimité', p. 83, n. 30. The second list reads:

Carolus Magnus, qui fuit primus imperator
Pius [sic]
Ludouicus, filius ejus rex et imperator.
Carolus Caluus, rex et imperator.
Ludouicus Balbus, rex et imperator

ed. from Register C by Brown, Appendix 1 in 'La notion de la légitimité', p. 103. The attribution of the imperial title to Louis le Bègue (d. 879) may stem from a confusion of Louis, the son of Charles le Chauve, with the Emperor Louis II (d. 875), son of Lothar I. The misattribution of the imperial title to Louis le Bègue appears to have been unusual in France although he also appears in a list of Roman emperors prepared at the end of the thirteenth century by Geoffroi de Collon where his name, like that of several Carolingians, is followed by the description *rex Francorum*: *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 22; see also *ibid.*, p. 308. Louis appears in Geoffroi's list of French kings but, unlike his three Carolingian predecessors, is not there described as also having been an emperor: *ibid.*, p. 10. Geoffroi, at least, seems to have been aware that Louis le Bègue and the Emperor Louis II were two separate people.

fixed characteristics with the imperial *regalia*.⁴⁸ It seems probable that in the northern French cultural milieu this *regalia* did, however, come to be defined by at least one particular distinctive feature. In northern France the ‘closed’ crown, that is a circlet surmounted by, most commonly, one longitudinal arch, appears to have become strongly associated with the imperial office, possibly from as early as the twelfth century.⁴⁹ It was this form of crown that the illuminator of Pierre Honoré’s *Grandes Chroniques* depicted when instructed by the *atelier* of Thomas de Maubeuge to illustrate *le couronne empereale* (plate 2).⁵⁰ A similar ‘closed’ crown appears in, amongst other places, thirteenth-century stained glass — possibly from the cathedral of Soissons — depicting the condemnation of Saint Blaise under the fourth-century Roman emperor Licinius.⁵¹

It was quite possible for the imperial crown to be represented in a variety of different forms. An example is to be found in the depiction of an emperor in the opening illumination of a manuscript of Gratian’s *Decretum*, manufactured in Paris in 1288–89 and bought by a certain Guillaume, who obtained his license

⁴⁸ J. Petersohn, ‘Über monarchische Insignien und ihre Funktion im mittelalterlichen Reich’, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 266 (1998), 47–96.

⁴⁹ Concerning the development of the idea that a ‘closed’ crown was the distinctive privilege of emperors: Guenée, *L’Occident*, pp. 145–46. Despite a strong association with emperors the ‘closed’ crown could, on occasion, appear in a non-imperial context in France: one such case is the depiction of Saul both in his anointing by Samuel and his slaying of Nahash and the Ammonites in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 638, fol. 23^v (1240s, Paris). Saul appears wearing a similar crown in, for example, fol. 26^v, 27^v, 28^v. David is also depicted wearing a closed crown (for example, fol. 36^r, 41^v) but this is of a different design, one that incorporates a bonnet. I have accessed this manuscript via the Morgan Library’s excellent on-line research tool <<http://corsair.morganlibrary.org>> [accessed 15 September 2006].

⁵⁰ BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 147^r (plate 2). In several instances extremely precise instructions to the illuminator are preserved in the lower parts of the folio. Concerning these instructions: Rouse and Rouse, 1, 180–81. Transcription: Hedeman, p. 249.

⁵¹ Paris, Musée Marmottan-Monet, Collection Jules Marmottan, nos 230–33 (four panels of stained glass from the region of Soissons; thirteenth century). Two of these four panels feature a ruler with a closed crown. In one the ruler is depicted condemning a saint clearly identified by a Latin tag. The panels are noted in the catalogue: H. Lefuel, *Catalogue du Musée Marmottan* (Paris: Frazier-Soye, 1934), p. 32, nos 71bis (crowned ruler seated on a throne holding an audience); 72bis (Saint Blaise in the presence of a crowned ruler seated on a throne). I am grateful to M^{me} Marianne Delafond, conservateur at the Musée Marmottan-Monet, for this catalogue reference. For the martyrdom of Saint Blaise: D. H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 56.

in canon law in 1290. This illumination featured a crown that was quite different from that produced by Pierre Honoré's illuminator, in that it was much more elaborate, and possibly even depicted as double-arched; simultaneously, though, it preserved an essentially 'closed' characteristic.⁵² One notable exception, the illumination of Frederick II in Jean de Dampierre-Saint-Dizier's *L'art de la chace des oisiaus*, where the Emperor was depicted wearing an open crown, is probably attributable to Simon d'Orléans's Italian exemplar.⁵³ A 'closed' characteristic does not appear to have been associated with the crowns of kings:⁵⁴ when instructed to illustrate a *roy* Thomas de Maubeuge's illuminator depicted a figure wearing an open crown (plate 3).⁵⁵

Pierre Honoré's *Grandes Chroniques* depicted Charlemagne sporting a 'closed' crown both before his imperial coronation,⁵⁶ during the coronation ceremony,⁵⁷ and on a number of other instances.⁵⁸ At the same time, the *atelier* felt quite at liberty to dispense with the closed crown in a number of illuminations relating to events after the imperial coronation.⁵⁹ A century earlier, as Lautier has noted, the artists responsible for the Charlemagne stained glass cycle in the north-eastern intermediate radial chapel of the cathedral of Chartres chose similarly to vary

⁵² Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 558. For this illumination: Avril, no. 184, p. 278.

⁵³ BnF, MS fr. 12400, fol. 2^r. Cf. Vatican, Pal. lat. MS 1071 fol. 1^v: Toubert, 'Les enluminures', p. 409, fig. 1.

⁵⁴ Nineteenth-century restoration leaves it difficult to determine the original intentions in the case of the Emperor Constantine's crown in the mid-thirteenth-century stained glass of Louis IX's Sainte-Chapelle: first level of the first lancet of the *vitrail de l'histoire des reliques de la Passion*.

⁵⁵ BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 155^v (plate 3). Transcription: Hedeman, p. 249.

⁵⁶ Paris, BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 132^r (plate 4). Placed at the opening of book one, chapter one of the Charlemagne material, this illumination is intended to illustrate an episode from book one, chapter eleven: Hedeman, p. 249. This illumination is particularly notable for its inclusion of a globe surmounted by a cross, a symbol only ever adopted, albeit briefly, by one post-Carolingian French king, Robert le Pieux (996–1031). This may be a second 'distinctive characteristic' of French conceptions of the imperial *regalia*. I am grateful to Romedio Schmitz-Esser of the University of Innsbruck with whom I discussed this point.

⁵⁷ BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 147^r (plate 2).

⁵⁸ BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 174^r. Fol. 159^v features an emperor but this is intended to be the Greek emperor, Constantine: Hedeman, pp. 249–50.

⁵⁹ BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 155^v (plate 3). Also: fol. 160^r; fol. 165^r where Hedeman identified the emperor as Constantine (p. 250) which suggests Charlemagne was depicted only as a king; fol. 168^r, where Charlemagne, identifiable by instructions to the illuminator, is depicted as a king sleeping.

between a 'royal' and 'imperial' crown when depicting the Emperor.⁶⁰ The artist responsible for the Charlemagne illumination which introduced Jean Bodel's (d. 1210) *La chanson des Saxons*, in a collection of poetry prepared for Philippe III's queen, Marie de Brabant (d. 1321) between 1280 and 1300,⁶¹ also felt able to dispense with the imperial crown. In this latter Charlemagne was depicted clothed in the fleur-de-lys and crowned by angels with an open crown.⁶² We appear to find something similar in a late-thirteenth-century fresco in the abbey of Aiguevive (Loir-et-Cher) which integrates Charlemagne, depicted wearing an open crown, into the legend of Saint Gilles.⁶³ Charlemagne's imperial office was not, therefore, something which French illuminators felt it necessary to emphasize constantly. It could even, as in these latter cases, be dispensed with altogether. Though clearly important, it was less fundamental than the fact that Charlemagne had been a French king. The position of these illuminators seems to have reflected that of thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century French kings themselves, who made little effort to claim any imperial association through the Carolingians.

From the early-fifteenth century an alternate conception of the imperial crown, a quasi-pontifical affair involving a bonnet, seems to have flourished in France. Pinoteau has suggested that evidence for this is to be found as early as the first quarter of the thirteenth century in the bas-relief situated below the statue of

⁶⁰ C. Lautier, 'Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres. Reliques et images', *Bulletin monumental*, 161–1 (2003), 3–96 (p. 35, n. 163). Concerning the dating of the cycle, normally ascribed to c. 1225: C. Maines, 'The Charlemagne Window at Chartres Cathedral: New Considerations on Text and Image', *Speculum*, 52 (1977), 801–23 (p. 801, n. 1).

⁶¹ *Art and the Courts: France and England from 1259 to 1328 (The National Gallery of Canada, 27 April–2 July 1972)*, ed. by P. Verdier, P. Breiger, and M. Farquhar Montpetit, 2 vols (Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1972), I, 79–80.

⁶² Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3142, fol. 229: *Art and the Courts*, II, 27, plate 10. The portrayal of Charlemagne in Bodel's early-thirteenth-century poem is not flattering: Sivéry, *Louis VIII*, p. 78.

⁶³ G. Demaux, 'Une fresque inédite du XIII^e siècle en l'abbaye d'Aiguevive (Loir-et-Cher): Saint Gilles remettant à Charlemagne la 'chartre' apportée par un ange', in *La Chanson de Geste et le Mythe carolingien. Mélanges René Louis publiés par ses collègues, ses amis et ses élèves à l'occasion de son 75^e anniversaire*, ed. by E. Baumgartner, 2 vols (Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay: Floch, 1982), I, 282–91; fig. 1 for the fresco itself.

a pope in the decoration of the *portail de la Vierge* of Notre-Dame de Paris⁶⁴ and in the Charlemagne window at the cathedral of Chartres.⁶⁵ One of the medallions that make up the latter appears to depict the depositing of a reliquary,⁶⁶ in the form of such a bonnet-crown, at Aachen by Charlemagne.⁶⁷ It should be noted, however, that here, as in several other scenes, Charlemagne himself was depicted wearing a crown closed by an arch.⁶⁸ The medallion in which Charlemagne was offered relics by the Greek emperor Constantine is a particularly striking example: while Charlemagne wears an arch-crown, Constantine, in contrast, appears to be depicted wearing a bonnet-crown.⁶⁹

Whether or not Pinoteau is correct,⁷⁰ there are no signs that the Capetian-Valois kings made any efforts to associate themselves explicitly with a bonnet-crown, or any other distinctively 'imperial' crown, before, at least, the mid-fourteenth century. The first case of such an association, according to Pinoteau, was the appearance of a bonnet-crown on money issued by Jean II.⁷¹ More striking was the sceptre of Charlemagne commissioned by Charles V, which

⁶⁴ H. Pinoteau, 'L'Ancienne couronne française dite "de Charlemagne", 1180?-1794', in *Vingt-cinq ans d'études dynastiques* (Paris: Christian, 1982), pp. 375–430 (p. 416); W. M. Hinkle, 'The King and the Pope on the Virgin Portal of Notre-Dame', *The Art Bulletin*, 48 (1966), 1–13 (fig. 10). Hinkle's interpretation differs from that of Pinoteau: 'Virgin Portal', p. 7. The statue opposite this bas-relief has been associated in the past with Constantine and Charlemagne. Restored in the nineteenth century, there is no clear evidence for its earlier state: W. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140–1270*, trans. by J. Sondheim (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972), plate 152. Based on the testimony of the canons of Notre-Dame, Hinkle convincingly argues that it was originally intended to represent Philippe Auguste: 'Virgin Portal', p. 2.

⁶⁵ Pinoteau, 'L'Ancienne couronne', p. 415.

⁶⁶ For the identification of this particular scene as the donation of relics rather than the depositing of a crown at Saint-Denis: Maines, 'Charlemagne Window', p. 807, n. 21.

⁶⁷ For this medallion: Lautier, 'Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres', p. 35, fig. 31.

⁶⁸ B. Kurmann-Schwarz and P. Kurmann, *Chartres la cathédrale*, trans. T. de Kayser (Saint-Léger-Vauban: Zodiaque, 2001), p. 220, plate 66.

⁶⁹ Lautier, 'Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres', p. 34, fig. 30. It is worth considering whether the majority of contemporaries would have perceived the subtlety in these depictions: it is — even on a clear, well-lit day — difficult to discern the detail in these images with the naked eye from the ground floor.

⁷⁰ Concerning the development of the bonnet-crown concept: Schramm, I, 208–10.

⁷¹ Pinoteau, 'L'Ancienne couronne', pp. 411 (fig. 16), 416.

featured a crown closed by arches surmounted by a cross.⁷² Equally, it was only under Charles V, keen to associate himself with the ‘author’ of the Salic law,⁷³ that another element of the Charlemagne myth intimately connected with the Carolingian’s imperial status, his sainthood, received explicit royal patronage.⁷⁴ The first reference to the existence of an ‘imperial’ crown amongst the royal *regalia* occurred in a royal charter of 1340 listing items temporarily borrowed from Saint-Denis for financial reasons.⁷⁵ Philippe VI’s intentions should not, though, necessarily be viewed in the same light as his grandson’s conscious efforts to evoke imperial associations.

The Carolingians and Saint-Denis

Philippe VI de Valois’s belief that he possessed an imperial crown was almost certainly an impression left by Dionysian sleight of hand, rather than any direct intention on Philippe’s part to lay claim to an ‘imperial’ inheritance.⁷⁶ It is in Dionysian efforts to promote the importance of their abbey that a second reason for the prominence of Charlemagne in France prior to 1350 is to be found, a reason that was developed in parallel to, yet interconnected with, Capetian-Valois attempts to justify the legitimacy of their kingship. Charlemagne and the Carolingians offered the Dionysians multiple opportunities for promoting their own importance. It was, for example, in the vein of furthering their association with the ruling dynasty that an anonymous life of Louis IX written after 1297⁷⁷ stated that Louis had renewed the special relationship between the monastery and the French kings as it had been

⁷² D. Gaborit-Chopin, ‘Sceptre de Charles V dit “de Charlemagne”’, in *Le trésor de Saint-Denis. Exposition Musée du Louvre Paris 12 mars-17 juin 1991* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1991), pp. 264–71.

⁷³ R. Folz, ‘Aspects du culte liturgique de Saint Charlemagne en France’, in *Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben, 4: Das Nachleben*, ed. by W. Braunsfels and P. E. Schramm, 5 vols (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1967), IV, 78. The first exponent of the Salic law as a justification for the Valois succession was a Dionysian, Richard Lescot: Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, p. 112.

⁷⁴ Folz, ‘Aspects du culte liturgique’, pp. 77–99.

⁷⁵ (10 June 1340, Noyon): Pinoteau, ‘L’Ancienne couronne’, p. 410, n. 39.

⁷⁶ Pinoteau, ‘L’Ancienne couronne’, p. 409.

⁷⁷ Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 112–13.

established by Charlemagne.⁷⁸ This ‘renewal’ had its foundations in a less subtle Dionysian scheme: the attribution to Charlemagne of a series of forged diplomas produced in the abbey in the twelfth century.⁷⁹ The Carolingians, and Charlemagne in particular, were also of importance because they were considered the patrons of the Passion relics held by the abbey.

The Dionysians had sought to promote their association with the King-Emperor even before the Capetians themselves had taken great interest in him. The *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit* (c. 1080) and the *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* (1130–40), the latter more commonly known as the Pseudo-Turpin, both products of the abbey, are illustrative examples.⁸⁰ Between them, these two texts fabricated the essence of Charlemagne’s legendary journey to the Holy Land and an important version of his Spanish crusade. Their influence was enormous: over 130 Latin manuscripts of the Pseudo-Turpin remain extant and multiple vernacular French translations of the work had been made by the mid-thirteenth century, the majority for the Flemish lords in the northern French milieu.⁸¹ Philippe Mousket was among those who drew heavily on the Pseudo-Turpin.⁸² Together with the *Descriptio* the latter also provided the bulk of the narrative depicted in the Charlemagne cycle at Chartres.⁸³

In the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the abbey succeeded in establishing the possession of the *regalia* as one of its prerogatives.⁸⁴ The most spectacular example of Dionysian efforts to forge a link with the Carolingian emperor was the assimilation of an element of this *regalia*, the coronation sword, with Charlemagne’s legendary sword, *Joyeuse*. Often attributed to Guillaume de Nangis’s account of the 1271 coronation, it seems likely that

⁷⁸ *Gesta sancti Ludovici noni, francorum regis, auctore monacho Sancti Dionysii, anonymo*, ed. by P. C. F. Daunou and J. Naudet, in *RHGF*, xx, 44–57 (p. 52).

⁷⁹ Folz, *Le couronnement impérial*, p. 252.

⁸⁰ Folz, *Le couronnement impérial*, pp. 250–52.

⁸¹ Labory, ‘Les débuts de la chronique en français’, pp. 11–12.

⁸² Morrissey, p. 127.

⁸³ Maines, ‘Charlemagne Window’, pp. 803–04.

⁸⁴ Schramm, I, 131–44.

Guillaume adopted this assimilation from Primat's Latin chronicle.⁸⁵ Primat had earlier interpolated the idea into the section of his *Roman des rois* 'translated' from Rigord.⁸⁶ This dates the Dionysian assimilation to the 1270s, a decade earlier than has been assumed previously.⁸⁷ Although tenth or eleventh century in its oldest parts, the origins of the sword were clearly sufficiently obscure for it to be attributable to Charlemagne.

In the 1260s Louis IX had been well aware that the crowns he deposited at Saint-Denis had been manufactured for his grandfather.⁸⁸ It seems probable that Philippe Auguste had remodelled aspects of the coronation sword at the same time as he had these crowns manufactured.⁸⁹ The resulting stylistic

⁸⁵ Primat referred to Charlemagne only as 'king' (*roy* in Jean de Vignay's translation) in this part of his account: *Chronique de Primat*, p. 89. Guillaume de Nangis rendered this 'regis Franciae et imperatoris Romanorum' in his life of Philippe III: *Gesta Philippi Regis Franciae, filii sanctae memoriae regis Ludovici*, p. 488; *Grandes Chroniques*, viii, 39.

⁸⁶ Compare Primat's comments concerning the role of Philippe of Flanders in Philippe Auguste's coronation: 'qui en ce jor porta devant le roi Joieuse, l'espée le grant roi Karlemene, si come il est droiz et costume au coronement des rois' (*Grandes Chroniques*, vi, 103–04), with Rigord's Latin version: 'qui ea die, prout moris est, ensem ante dominum regem honorifice portavit.', *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, chap. 9, p. 140. Also: *Grandes Chroniques*, iii, bk iii, chap. ii, p. 150; bk iv, chap. iii, p. 220.

⁸⁷ The idea that the sword used at the coronation of Philippe Auguste was that of Charlemagne had been aired in the twelfth century by the chronicler, canon of Saint-Pierre de Namur, and sometime chancellor to Baudouin V, Count of Hainaut, Gislebert de Mons (d. 1225): Bradbury, p. 220. Concerning Gislebert's chronicle: Baldwin, p. 399. If Gislebert's work was known to him, Rigord certainly showed no interest in this idea. Primat may have found the idea in Gislebert; alternatively, and this seems more likely as there is little to indicate that Primat had read Gislebert, the Dionysian may have developed the same idea independently, perhaps influenced by the *chansons de geste*. That the idea was not common currency until promoted by the Dionysians is suggested by the fact that the post-1254 coronation *ordo* says nothing about the relationship of any items of *regalia* to Charlemagne. The absence of any attribution to Charlemagne in this *ordo* was noted by Jacques Le Goff, who nevertheless believed the sword and crown might already have been attributed to the Carolingian emperor: 'A Coronation Program for the Age of Saint Louis: The Ordo of 1250', in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. by J. M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 46–57 (p. 49).

⁸⁸ Pinoteau, 'L'Ancienne couronne', p. 407, n. 34. No clear account exists of the appearance of these crowns, which are no longer extant.

⁸⁹ *Joyeuse* is presently in the Louvre (département des Objets d'art). Elements of the sword date to the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century: D. Gaborit-Chopin, 'Épée de Charlemagne et fourreau', in *Le trésor de Saint-Denis. Exposition Musée du Louvre Paris*

similarity may have made it easy to associate crowns with sword, and, in any case, it seems unlikely that the Dionysians would have hesitated greatly to associate a further item in their possession with the Carolingian emperor.⁹⁰ It may be speculated that the monks themselves added the bonnet with the intention of compensating for the absence of a longitudinal arch and thereby strengthening the association with Charlemagne. Such a modification might have encouraged Philippe VI in his conviction that he owned an ‘imperial’ crown.

Dionysian efforts extended beyond Charlemagne and largely account for the attention paid to another Carolingian emperor, Charles le Chauve (823–77; Emperor 875–77). Pierre Honoré’s *Grandes Chroniques* echoed its source, Primat’s *Roman des rois*,⁹¹ in devoting considerable space to Charlemagne’s grandson and attached more importance to Charles’ reign than most, according it two illuminations.⁹² The attention Primat had focused upon Charles is explained by the Dionysian desire to promote the fact that he had transferred part of the relics of the Passion from Aachen, where they had been deposited by Charlemagne, to Saint-Denis. Guillaume de Nangis⁹³ and later Dionysian compilers⁹⁴ highlighted this point by inserting the episode of the theft of the Holy Nail from their abbey into accounts of the life of Louis IX. Another case in which both Charlemagne and Charles le Chauve were drawn to northern French attention may be similarly explained. The part played by Charlemagne and his grandson in the transfer of relics associated with the Virgin to Chartres provides at least a partial explanation for aspects of the cathedral’s stained glass cycle. The Charlemagne cycle may be read as an authentication of the *chemise* of the Virgin, the cathedral’s chief relic: it provides an account of the *chemise*’s

12 mars-17 juin 1991 (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1991), pp. 204-09 (pp. 204, 206). The view that the upper part of the scabbard was redesigned at the same time seems less likely; Gaborit-Chopin, ‘Épée de Charlemagne’, p. 208. Cf. Pinoteau, ‘L’Ancienne couronne’, p. 410.

⁹⁰ Although it should be noted that the earliest evidence for the epithet *de Charlemagne* being applied to any French crown dates from 1517: Pinoteau, ‘L’Ancienne couronne’, p. 397, n. 16.

⁹¹ *Grandes Chroniques*, iv, 161–259.

⁹² BnF, fr. 10132, fol. 220^r (a battle); fol. 233^v (vision of Heaven and Hell).

⁹³ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, p. 320, where Charles was termed *rex Franciae et imperator Romanus*.

⁹⁴ *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, p. 321, where Charles was *roy de France et empereur de Roume*; *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 12–14.

initial translation from Constantinople to Aachen.⁹⁵ The use of an arch-crown in a depiction of the Virgin⁹⁶ may have been intended to represent a link with Charles le Chauve, who translated the *chemise* a second time bringing it to Chartres.⁹⁷

The truncation of the episode of the theft of the Holy Nail⁹⁸ at a time when the *Grandes Chroniques* compilation was re-organized under closer royal supervision, a re-organization which witnessed the removal of many episodes connected with the promotion of purely Dionysian interests,⁹⁹ serves to highlight the monks's original intentions in including material relating to Charles le Chauve. The Dionysian compilers of the 1340s *Grandes Chroniques* would still incorporate into their account of the English attack on Rueil (1346) a passing reference to their receipt of Carolingian patronage in the remark that the monastery owned a house at Rueil given to them by *Charles le Chauve roy et emperere*.¹⁰⁰ At the same time, the monks were quick to add a comment which rendered the Carolingian emperor relevant to the Valois kings: Philippe VI was the first French king since Charles, *qui fu roy et emperere*, to come to Saint-Denis armed and prepared for battle, a statement which underlined the continuity of French kingship and affirmed Philippe de Valois's place in a long line of kings.¹⁰¹

The prime interest of the Dionysians lay in associating themselves with magnificent donors who could authenticate their relics, and in promoting their privileged relationship with the French kings. This interest coincided with, and largely abetted, the Capetian-Valois dynasty's own interest in self-authentication.¹⁰² While the imperial title might underline the magnificence of

⁹⁵ Lautier, 'Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres', pp. 29–38.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 31, fig. 27.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 31.

⁹⁸ *Grandes Chroniques*, VII, 63.

⁹⁹ Guenée, 'Grandes Chroniques', p. 197.

¹⁰⁰ *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 275–76.

¹⁰¹ *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 277.

¹⁰² As Philippe IV discovered, royal and Dionysian interests did not always complement each other so neatly. The monks proved themselves one of very few groups to resist Philippe successfully when the King attempted to arrange the translation of Louis IX's body to the Sainte-Chapelle: E. A. R. Brown, 'Philippe le Bel and the Remains of Saint Louis', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, VI^e période, 115, 122 (1980), 175–82 (pp. 175–77) (repr. in E. A. R. Brown, *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*, Variorum Collected Studies (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1991))

both Charlemagne and his grandson, neither the Dionysians nor the Capetian-Valois kings demonstrated an interest in deducing further attributions or authority from it. In fact the apparent absence of attempts to exploit the fact that Charlemagne and his descendants had been emperors, particularly with regard to the French kings' own relationship with the contemporary Empire, is perhaps the most striking aspect of the Carolingian imperial connection.

Le roi Carlemainne

Charlemagne is noticeably absent from the reasons Charles d'Anjou put forward in the summer of 1273 to attempt to convince his nephew, Philippe III, to pursue his imperial candidature.¹⁰³ Where the Carolingian did appear in argument it was firmly within the context of French kingship. Examples include the 1246 baronial manifesto against clerical abuses¹⁰⁴ and the 1247 *Protest of Saint Louis*,¹⁰⁵ both cases where Charlemagne's imperial title was omitted altogether. He appeared similarly in a sermon preached at some time after the battle of Courtrai (11 July 1302), during either Philippe IV's reign or that of one his sons.¹⁰⁶ Here Charlemagne was listed alongside Clovis, Childeric III, and Louis IX, as simply one of the holy kings of France,¹⁰⁷ and even given as an example, placed alongside Philippe Auguste, of a French king who had fought against malicious emperors.¹⁰⁸ The Latin verse closing Ives de Saint-Denis's

¹⁰³ MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 618, pp. 585–88. Folz noted this absence but argued 'on reconnaît très facilement les thèmes liés traditionnellement au souvenir de l'empereur.', *Le souvenir et la légende*, p. 306.

¹⁰⁴ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vi, 467 (November 1246).

¹⁰⁵ '[...] Karolus Magnus et multi reges Francorum post ipsum [...]'], *Chronica majora*, vi, no. 60, p. 110.

¹⁰⁶ The traditional dating (1302) has been recently questioned by Norman Housley in his *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274–1580*, trans. with commentaries by N. Housley (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), p. 31, n. 1.

¹⁰⁷ 'Tertio sanctitatem generant, cum generent sanctos reges, quod patet in Clodoveo domino primo rege fideli, sed patet etiam in Hilderico qui ex rege factus est monachus Sancti Dionysii, qui fuit praedecessor Pippini: patet etiam in Carolo Magno et Sancto Ludovico': *Sermo cum rex Franciae est processurus ad bellum*, p. 169. The writer was clearly keen to put the best possible 'spin' on Childeric III's deposition and neglects to mention that the last Merovingian's adoption of the monastic habit was not entirely by choice.

¹⁰⁸ *Sermo cum rex Franciae est processurus ad bellum*, p. 169.

chronicle, a work commissioned by Philippe IV and presented to Philippe V in 1317, similarly listed Charlemagne alongside Clovis, but, again, only in the context of the line of French kings from whom Philippe was descended.¹⁰⁹ Criticism of Louis X ascribed to the French barons by the metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris similarly made no use of the imperial title and implied that Charlemagne was a French king in much the same way as Philippe Auguste, Louis VIII, Louis IX, and Philippe III were.¹¹⁰ The Norman lawyer, Pierre Dubois, offers the clearest evidence of a tendency to view Charlemagne primarily in terms of his relationship with French kingship.

Dubois, the writer to discuss at greatest length the possibility of a French acquisition of the Empire, exemplifies the place occupied by Charlemagne in French thought. References to the Carolingian emperor are not infrequent in Dubois's works and were formulated by two factors. The first was the author's training as a lawyer. This undoubtedly explains his exceptional association of Charlemagne with *Germanos* in his tract *Pro facto Terre Sancte*,¹¹¹ as his wording was simply a virtually verbatim citation of the decretal *Venerabilem*.¹¹² This case, where Dubois noted that the Empire had been translated from the Greeks to the Germans in the person of Charlemagne, and his description of Charlemagne as *romanus imperator* in *De recuperatione*,¹¹³ make it clear that he was well aware of the Carolingian's imperial connections. Nevertheless, a second factor played a more fundamental role in defining his view: his understanding of Charlemagne as an historical figure.

In suggesting that the Carolingian emperor had taken the land route to the Holy Land,¹¹⁴ Dubois accepted the common assumption, propagated at the time by, amongst others, Primat's *Roman des rois*, that Charlemagne had

¹⁰⁹ '[. . .] Nobile quali/Regnat honore Dei nunc usque genus Clodovei/ Et Karoli Magni': *Pars Ultima Chronici anno M.CCC.XVII. a Guillelmo Scoto, Sancti Dionysii Monacho, Conscripti*, ed. by J. D. Guigniaut and N. de Wailly, in *RHGF*, xxi, 201–11 (p. 211). The closing lines, but not, as the editors believed, the chronicle as a whole, may be attributed to Guillaume L'Escot: Spiegel, *Chronicle Tradition*, pp. 113–15.

¹¹⁰ *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, lines 6475–6683, pp. 213–17.

¹¹¹ *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, p. 209.

¹¹² X 1. 6. 34. Concerning Dubois's fidelity to the wording of this decretal: Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', p. 79.

¹¹³ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 141, p. 130.

¹¹⁴ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 104, p. 88; *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, p. 209.

undertaken a crusade to Jerusalem.¹¹⁵ He similarly accepted that Charlemagne had conquered Spain,¹¹⁶ and his unquestioning assertion that the Carolingian emperor had lived for over a hundred years was based on another commonplace.¹¹⁷ Given that Dubois's view was derived largely from contemporary historical conceptions, the fact that Charlemagne had become Emperor was undoubtedly of importance to him. This importance is reflected in his belief that Charlemagne had accomplished more in the few brief years he spent as emperor than he had done throughout the rest of his reign,¹¹⁸ a statement which closely reflected the structure of the presentation of Charlemagne's life in contemporary historical works. Yet the fact that Charlemagne had become Emperor appears not to have led Dubois to draw conclusions about the nature of the past or present relationship between the French kingdom and the Empire. There is equally an absence of any suggestion in his works that Charlemagne's imperial office had conferred upon him any additional temporal authority.

Dubois's most direct use of a Charlemagne-based argument occurred in an attack upon Pope Boniface VIII's claims to temporal superiority. Here Dubois cited Pope Hadrian's alleged grant to the Carolingian of, amongst other benefits, the right to collate to prebends and the fruits of vacant benefices.¹¹⁹ Dubois almost certainly believed that it was in his capacity as king of France, not as emperor, that Charlemagne had received this grant. It was, according to

¹¹⁵ *Grandes Chroniques*, III, 172–73. While the subject of a certain degree of criticism in the thirteenth century, this myth was largely accepted. For the various criticisms: Chazan, 'Les lieux de la critique', pp. 35–36.

¹¹⁶ *Summaria brevis*, p. 17. Cf. *Grandes Chroniques*, III, 199–287.

¹¹⁷ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 2, p. 5; chap. 141, p. 130. The legend of Charlemagne's great age appears in the *Chanson de Roland*: Pierre Dubois: *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, trans. with an introduction by W. I. Brandt, *Records of Civilization Sources and Studies*, 51 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 197, n. 90. Gabrielle Spiegel has suggested, plausibly, that the inclusion of such legendary material in historical accounts — and subsequently, in this case, in Dubois's tract — sprang from chroniclers's perceptions of themselves as compilers passing on received truth. Indeed, she suggests that it may have been considered neglectful of the truth to leave out such details and that there were virtually no justifiable theoretical grounds for *not* passing them on, fictitious or otherwise: *Past as Text*, p. 102.

¹¹⁸ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 141, p. 130.

¹¹⁹ *Deliberatio*, p. 45. Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', p. 70, n. 76.

the accounts of both Primat¹²⁰ and Vincent de Beauvais,¹²¹ a benefit that had been bestowed upon Charlemagne prior to his imperial coronation. Although Dubois made no reference to it, the idea of *translatio studii* is illustrative of a second instance in which contemporaries probably regarded any connection with Charlemagne as one primarily marked by the Carolingian's status as king of France, rather than as emperor.

Charlemagne's translation of *studium* to France, something held first by the Greeks and later by the Romans, occurred, according to Vincent de Beauvais,¹²² prior to his imperial coronation. It was clearly an activity performed by a French king. Primat, in contrast, chose to broach this topic after Charlemagne had become emperor, yet to describe Primat's account as a 'translation' is something of a misnomer as what the Dionysian described is in no way akin to that recounted in Vincent's *Speculum*. For Primat it was simply the case that learning had been so increased at Paris and throughout the French kingdom during Charlemagne's reign — largely due to the arrival of Alcuin — that the centre of wisdom had now come to be at Paris, as it had once been at Athens and Rome.¹²³ Primat's comments highlight a Dionysian lack of enthusiasm for the idea of a link between *translatio studii* and Charlemagne.

Primat had raised the topic of *translatio studii*, making no reference to Charlemagne, in the prologue to his *Roman des rois*.¹²⁴ Similarly, the *Gesta Ludovici*,¹²⁵ its first translation,¹²⁶ at least one version of the Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques*,¹²⁷ and the first recension of Guillaume de Nangis's universal chronicle,¹²⁸ all of which discussed *translatio studii*, made no reference to the involvement of Charlemagne.¹²⁹ The case of Guillaume's universal chronicle is

¹²⁰ *Grandes Chroniques*, III, 28.

¹²¹ *Speculum historiale*, bk xxiii, chap. clxviii, p. 958; chap. clxx, p. 959.

¹²² *Speculum historiale*, bk xxiii, chap. clxxiii, p. 960.

¹²³ 'Tant multiplia et fructifia sa [Alcuin's] doctrine à Paris et par tout le royaume de France, que, Dieu merci! la fontaine de doctrine et de sapience est à Paris, ausi come ele fu jadis à Athenes et à Rome': *Grandes Chroniques*, III, bk iii, chap. iii, pp. 157–58.

¹²⁴ *Grandes Chroniques*, I, prologue, 5–6.

¹²⁵ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, p. 320.

¹²⁶ *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, pp. 319–21.

¹²⁷ *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 11.

¹²⁸ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 182–83.

¹²⁹ Geoffroi de Collon is similarly unenthusiastic although the reasons for his approach are less clear than those of the Dionysians: 'Illo tempore, studium generale Parisius

particularly striking as he drew upon Vincent's *Speculum*. This absence is explained by a radically different interpretation of *translatio studii*, one that had little to do with Charlemagne, the Empire, or even Rome more generally.¹³⁰

An element integral to the Dionysian texts was that *studium* had originally been brought to France along with Christianity by Dionysius the Areopagite, the Greek saint mistakenly conflated by the Dionysians with their own patron.¹³¹ Thus to promote the *translatio studii* was, for the Dionysians, to promote another aspect of their own importance. The attribution of a role to Charlemagne, *roy de France et emperiere de Romme*, in later accounts produced both beyond the abbey, such as Pierre Honoré's *Grandes Chroniques*,¹³² and within it, such as the second recension of Guillaume's chronicle,¹³³ probably reflects the development of two themes.

Vincent had expanded his account of the *translatio* in his second recension, the time at which he also integrated the *reditus* concept. As Lusignan has noted the two are probably linked: Vincent almost certainly intended to reinforce a connection between Charlemagne and the French kingdom and thus a dynastic connection between Capetians and Carolingians.¹³⁴ The idea that Charlemagne was responsible for the *translatio* was also, in essence, the nascence of the idea that the Carolingian emperor had founded the University of Paris.¹³⁵ The

translatum fuit, quod translatum fuerat de Gretia ad Romanos', *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 264. Cf. Geoffroi's probable source, the chronicle of the Dominican Martin of Troppau (d. 1278), which does mention Charlemagne: *Martini oppaviensis chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*, ed. by L. Weiland, MGH SS, 22, pp. 377–475 (p. 426).

¹³⁰ Compare with Chazan's comment that 'la *translatio studii* a incontestablement une résonance impériale': *L'Empire*, p. 528.

¹³¹ S. Lusignan, 'L'Université de Paris comme composante de l'identité du royaume de France: étude sur le thème de la *translatio studii*', in *Identité régionale et conscience nationale en France et en Allemagne du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne (Actes du colloque organisé par l'Université Paris XII — Val de Marne, l'Institut universitaire de France et l'Institut Historique Allemand à l'Université Paris XII et à la Fondation Singer-Polignac, les 6, 7 et 8 octobre 1993)*, ed. by R. Babel and J.-M. Moeglin (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997), pp. 59–72 (pp. 62–63).

¹³² BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 365^r.

¹³³ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 182–83.

¹³⁴ Lusignan, 'L'Université de Paris', pp. 60–61.

¹³⁵ For comparison with a similar case of mythological foundation in England: F. Rexroth, 'König Artus und die Professoren. Gründungsfiktionen an mittelalterlichen englischen Universitäten', *Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte*, 1 (1998), 13–48. I am grateful to Klaus Oschema for drawing this article to my attention.

promotion of such an idea offered the Parisian masters the opportunity to establish their autonomy and the idea that they enjoyed the direct patronage of the Capetian-Valois kings.¹³⁶ It may be the case, as Mireille Chazan suggested, that for Vincent, in common with those responsible for the second recension of Guillaume's chronicle¹³⁷ and Jean de Saint-Victor, the *translatio studii* and Pope Hadrian's grant were considered to presage a *translatio imperii*.¹³⁸ Yet for most in France this was probably a secondary consideration if it was a consideration at all: it seems probable that both were primarily connected with Charlemagne's status as French king, rather than the fact that he had later become emperor.

That the environment of northern France formulated not only the 'facts' of Carolingian history for Pierre Dubois, but also his more general conception, is evident from his frequent tendency to exclude references to Charlemagne's 'imperial' context. This is clearest in his regular omission of the imperial title,¹³⁹ an omission particularly striking in two cases where Charlemagne featured alongside Frederick Barbarossa to whom Dubois did attribute the imperial title.¹⁴⁰ What Dubois *was* keen to emphasize, particularly in the works he seems to have intended specifically for the consumption of the Capetian court,¹⁴¹ was that Charlemagne was the predecessor, indeed the lineal ancestor, of the contemporary king of France, Philippe IV.¹⁴² That Charlemagne had become

¹³⁶ Lusignan, 'L'Université de Paris', pp. 63–65.

¹³⁷ The omission of a Charlemagne connection from the first recension, and from the Dionysian tradition more generally, is not noted in Chazan's discussion: *L'Empire*, pp. 515–16.

¹³⁸ Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 515–17, 528–29, 531–32.

¹³⁹ *Summaria brevis*, pp. 10, 17; *Deliberatio*, p. 45; *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 2, p. 5; chap. 26, p. 18; chap. 104, p. 88; chap. 116, p. 106; *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, p. 209.

¹⁴⁰ Both references occur in connection with discussion of the journey to the Holy Land: 'et quartus major ceteris per terram siccam ad instar Karoli Magni, et primi Federici imperatoris, et Godefredi de Bullon', *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 104, p. 88; 'sicut eius antecessor Karolus Magnus et Federicus imperator penultimus transivisse leguntur', *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, p. 209.

¹⁴¹ Concerning Dubois's tendency to tailor his works to their intended audiences: Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', pp. 55–58.

¹⁴² 'Karolus Magnus antecessor regie maiestatis de cuius genere descendit [. . .] Hispaniam vero quoque antecessor vester Karollus Magnus cum tantis laboribus occupavit', *Summaria brevis*, pp. 10, 17; 'Item idem rex a tempore Karoli Magni sui de cuius genere descendit [. . .]', *Deliberatio*, p. 45; 'Nec esset mirum si rex Francorum terre

emperor was certainly viewed as contributing to his magnificence, and this was worthy of mention, but the important factor remained that he had been a king of France.

The iconographical programme adopted when Philippe le Bel embarked upon the renovation of the Palais de la Cité (c. 1296) was marked by two factors characteristic of his reign. The first was the desire, most evident in his attitude towards his saintly grandfather, to elevate Capetian kingship above the mere temporal. In the Palais this factor led to the adoption of influences drawn from episcopal and papal sources. These were apparent in the ground plan,¹⁴³ which incorporated features such as a walled garden,¹⁴⁴ and the cycle of statues included in the Grand'salle. The latter are likely to have been inspired by the pontifical portraits painted under Pope Nicholas III.¹⁴⁵ The second factor was the later-Capetian desire to reinforce the idea that French succession had been, from its debut, uninterrupted. It was this second factor which led Philippe to construct the layout of the principal entrance of the Palais in the manner of the imperial residence at Aachen, and, in further reference to the latter, to import black marble from Germany to adorn the two places where he would be seen most frequently, the entrance steps and the long table of the Grand'salle (c. 1301–15).¹⁴⁶ Both were done with the intention not of laying claim to any

quam ejus antecessor Karolus Magnus adquisivit Saracenis expulsis', *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 116, p. 106.

¹⁴³ Davis's proposition that the incorporation of classical features had their origins in a papal model is to be preferred to his suggestion that they were intended to emulate aspects of imperial Rome: M. T. Davis, 'Les visages du roi: les projets d'architecture de Philippe le Bel', in *1300... L'art au temps de Philippe le Bel. Actes du colloque international Galeries nationales du Grand Palais 24 et 25 juin 1998*, ed. by D. Gaborit-Chopin and F. Avril (Paris: École du Louvre, 2001), pp. 185–202 (pp. 193–95).

¹⁴⁴ At least one contemporary French writer remarked upon the construction of a walled garden during Nicholas III's renovation of the papal palace: *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, pp. 550–51. On Nicholas's renovations: A. Paravicini Bagliani, *La cour des papes au XIII^e siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1995), pp. 23–29; and on the Pope's horticultural activity in particular: Paravicini Bagliani, *La cour des papes au XIII^e siècle*, pp. 24–26.

¹⁴⁵ Davis, 'Les visages du roi', p. 191. This inspiration is more probable than any imperial model: J.-R. Gaborit, 'L'art au temps de Philippe le Bel et ses fils', in *L'Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285–1328 (Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais 17 mars–29 juin 1998)*, ed. by D. Gaborit-Chopin and J.-R. Gaborit (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1998), pp. 26–31 (pp. 27–28).

¹⁴⁶ Described by Davis: 'Les visages du roi', p. 193.

‘imperial’ agenda, but of strengthening the dynastic connection at the point where it was weakest: the Carolingian-Capetian intersection. These features were a comment upon the rows of statues of kings that were intended to line the Grand’salle (fig. 4).¹⁴⁷ They emphasized that these statues represented one cohesive French dynasty.¹⁴⁸

The Grand’salle would provide the location for the transaction of much royal business and the backdrop to the most regular public appearances of the king. Its public nature¹⁴⁹ may have seemed the perfect setting in which to present a dramatic argument for dynastic continuity. The plaques that accompanied the statues of the Grand’salle, their text known only from a sixteenth-century transcription, left no doubt that the Capetian-Valois kings had little intention of forgetting that Charlemagne, his son, and grandson, had been emperors. At the same time they emphasized, like the Saint-Denis scriptorium (whose system for numbering kings they may have adopted),¹⁵⁰ that, first and foremost, the Carolingians had been kings of France: Charlemagne was described as *Roy, obtint l’Empire des Romains*, after whom Louis and Charles le Chauve each *regna Roy et Empereur*.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ The Grand’salle was destroyed by fire in 1618. Its interior disposition is known from an engraving by Jacques I Androuet du Cerceau (1580): Paris, BnF, Estampes, Vx 15, p. 269 (1155). The statues were first described by Jean de Jandun in 1322/23: U. Bennert, ‘Art et propagande politique sous Philippe IV le Bel: le cycle des rois de France dans la Grand’salle du Palais de la Cité’, *Revue de l’art*, 97 (1992), 46–59 (p. 46).

¹⁴⁸ Bennert, ‘Art et propagande’, pp. 55–56. For the order in which the kings were represented: *ibid.*, pp. 47, 50–51.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁵¹ Cited from: *ibid.*, appendix, p. 59. The dating of the plaques is unclear, although it seems improbable that they were completed before the death of Philippe in 1314. This may explain why, rather than following Philippe’s preference for erasing dynastic divisions, they highlight the idea of three distinct French dynasties.

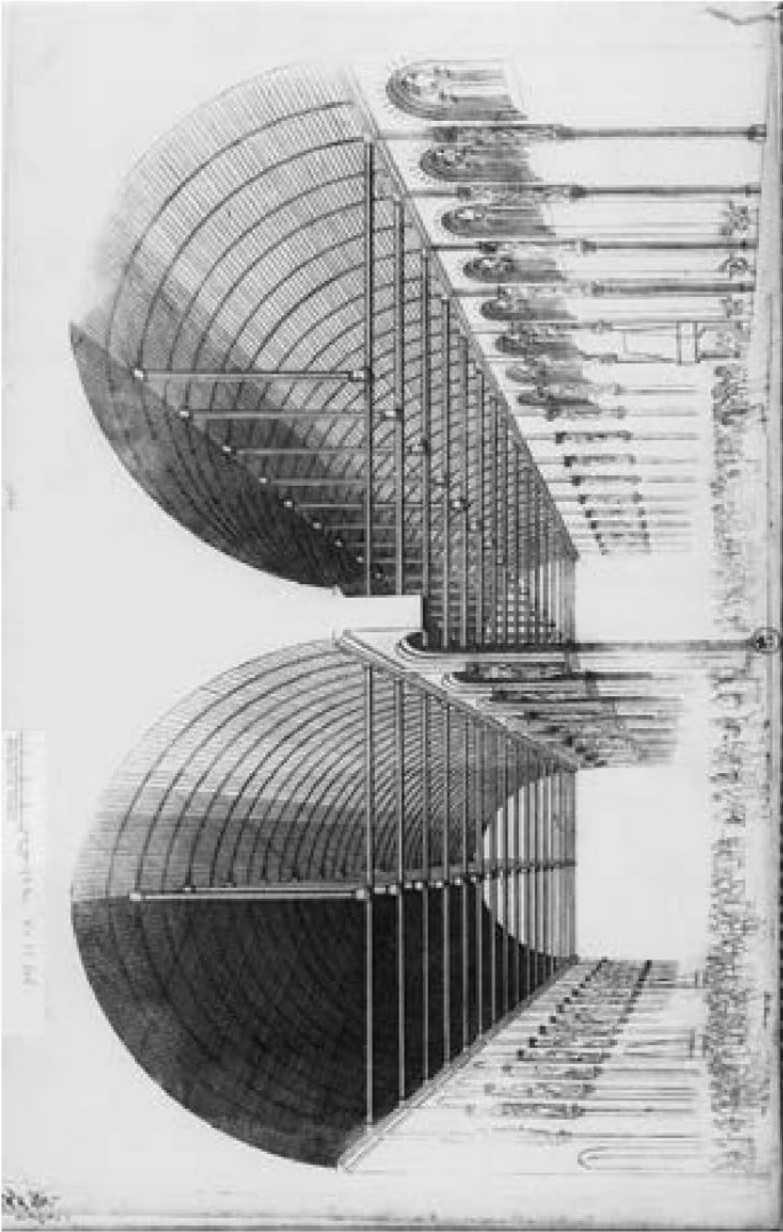


Figure 4: Jacques I Androuet du Cerceau, 'Grand'salle of the Palais de la Cité'. Paris, BnF, Estampes, Vx 15, p. 269 (1155). 1580. Reproduced with the permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

There is every indication that the approach adopted in the Palais de la Cité and by Pierre Dubois was not an exclusively late-thirteenth-century phenomenon or one confined to the Île-de-France.¹⁵² Writing in the 1240s in Tournai, for example, Philippe Mousket tended to speak of Charlemagne purely in terms of French kingship and employed descriptions such as the *roi Carlemainne*.¹⁵³ Equally, the Dominican Géraud de Frachet, writing his history of Aquitaine in the 1260s in Limoges, excluded Charlemagne's imperial title and presented him essentially in a context of French kingship.¹⁵⁴ Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, who included Frederick II's claim that Charlemagne was his predecessor, was distinctly unusual amongst northern French writers in implying a link between Charlemagne and the contemporary Empire.¹⁵⁵

The statues of the Palais de la Cité commissioned by Philippe IV exemplified northern French attitudes towards Charlemagne and his descendants. These give little indication that an interest in the Carolingians, which from a royal perspective arose largely out of a desire to establish the legitimacy of the Capetian-Valois dynasty, automatically led to a concomitant interest in the Empire. The same may be said of the interest in the dynasty fostered by ecclesiastical institutions, whose aims lay essentially in employing the Carolingians as a means of authenticating their relics and of associating themselves with the Capetian-Valois kings. Charlemagne, in particular, also appears to have been of interest to churchmen keen to present laymen with an exemplar of good knightly behaviour. Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240), for example, when writing a crusade sermon related an incident in which Charlemagne tested the willingness of his sons to obey commands that would seemingly humiliate them: those that obeyed without question were ultimately rewarded

¹⁵² Robert Fawtier noted many years ago that 'public opinion' in France, led by the minstrels, regarded Charlemagne as a king of France rather than as an emperor: *Capetian France*, p. 85.

¹⁵³ *Historia Regum Francorum*, line 27059, p. 793.

¹⁵⁴ *Édition du traité sur l'Aquitaine (version de 1266)*, ed. by R. Rech, in 'Géraud de Frachet, l'Aquitaine et le roi de France', in *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, ed. by F. Autrand, C. Gauvard, and J.-M. Moeglin (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), pp. 435–37 (p. 437).

¹⁵⁵ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 919. Geoffroi de Collon, another writer outside the Capetian orbit, was similarly unusual in noting a connection between Frederick Barbarossa and Charlemagne: 'Mortuo Corrado imperatore, per istum papam, Fredericus imperator, nepos Corradi predicti et ex genere Karoli Magni, coronatur', *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 482.

while those who refused paid the price for their pride.¹⁵⁶ The poet Rutebeuf offers evidence of a further role attributed to Charlemagne by certain of the inhabitants of late-thirteenth-century France. Nevertheless, in common with ecclesiastical institutions such as Chartres and Saint-Denis and the French kings themselves, it is unlikely that Rutebeuf intended his readers and listeners to draw a connection between the Carolingians, the Capetian-Valois kings, and the contemporary Empire.

Little is known of Rutebeuf beyond the fact that his origins almost certainly lay in the Champagne region and that the bulk of his work is attributable to the years before 1277.¹⁵⁷ Robert Folz,¹⁵⁸ echoed recently by Régis Rech,¹⁵⁹ suggested that the comparison Rutebeuf drew between Charlemagne and Charles d'Anjou in his poem *Le dit de Pouille* (written after 28 June 1265; before 26 February 1266) is comparable with that sketched by the Guelf pens of the Italian peninsula. For Folz it represented evidence of a northern French tendency to cast the Count of Anjou in the role of a new Charlemagne. In conquering southern Italy, Charles could be seen to imitate the Carolingian emperor both as a crusader and as a defender of the Church. From these two themes 'les partisans de Charles d'Anjou arrivent tout naturellement à l'idée d'Empire'.¹⁶⁰

Le dit de Pouille is one of only three of the fifty-six poems attributed to Rutebeuf to refer to Charlemagne. In verse six Rutebeuf did indeed draw a comparison between Charlemagne and Charles as crusaders by referring to the Count's enemies by the names of the Saracens who, in the twelfth-century

¹⁵⁶ *Sermo II*, in *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for Preaching the Cross*, ed. by C. T. Maier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 100–27 (p. 124); on Jacques see *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, ed. by Maier, pp. 8–9. The Dominican Humbert of Romans (d. 1277) made use of Charlemagne in crusade sermons to draw attention to the actions of previous generations: Smith, p. 89. For the use of Charlemagne as a religious exemplar after 1350: R. Lambrecht, 'Charlemagne and his Influence on the Late Medieval French Kings', *Journal of Medieval History*, 14 (1988), 283–91.

¹⁵⁷ *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. and trans. by M. Zink, 2 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1990), 1, 2–4. Concerning the character of Rutebeuf's poetry and his position in thirteenth-century French society: J. Dufournet, 'Les poèmes du Rutebeuf', in *Comprendre le XIII^e siècle. Études offertes à Marie-Thérèse Lorcin*, ed. by P. Guichard and D. Alexandre-Bidon (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1995), pp. 173–84 (pp. 173–77).

¹⁵⁸ Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende*, p. 300.

¹⁵⁹ Rech, 'Charles d'Anjou et le Limousin', p. 460.

¹⁶⁰ Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende*, p. 301.

Chanson d'Aspremont, were said to have opposed the Carolingian emperor. Yet the comparison was not an entirely straightforward one. Charles d'Anjou was indeed a king who shared his name with Charlemagne and who faced a plethora of Saracens, but Rutebeuf was keen to highlight a fundamental difference between the two: Charles lacked Charlemagne's companion, a Roland: 'Trop at contre le roi d'Yaumons et d'Agoulans; / Il at non li rois Charles, or li faut des Rollans'.¹⁶¹

Neither of the other two poems to refer to Charlemagne associated him with Charles d'Anjou, but both contained an element similar to that which appeared in *Le dit de Pouille*. In his earlier *La complainte de Constantinople* (written after May 1262; probably before the end of 1262) Rutebeuf had made use of Charlemagne in a savage critique of the state of French chivalry,¹⁶² a critique directed at Louis IX in particular.¹⁶³ A similarly critical air is attached to Charlemagne's appearance in *La complainte de la sainte église* (c. after 1285) where the author laments the absence of Charlemagne and Roland from contemporary France.¹⁶⁴ *Le dit de Pouille* was intended to rally participation in Charles' Sicilian venture. In light of the approach Rutebeuf adopted to Charlemagne in his other works, his comment that Charles lacked a Roland can be considered both as a criticism of French knighthood and as part of an attempt to convince French knights to go to Charles' aid. Rutebeuf was almost certainly seeking to inspire his audience by drawing on their familiarity with the heroic Charlemagne character of epic literature, blurring the line between

¹⁶¹ *Le dit de Pouille*, in *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. by M. Zink, 2 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1990), II, 305-11 (p. 308). The poem survives in only one late-thirteenth-century compilation: Paris, BnF, MS français, 1635.

¹⁶² *La complainte de Constantinople*, in *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. by M. Zink, 2 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1990), I, 355-67 (p. 364, verse xi.) The poem survives in two manuscripts compiled at the end of the thirteenth century: Paris, BnF, MS français, 837; BnF, MS fr. 1635.

¹⁶³ *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. and trans by E. Faral and J. Bastin, 2 vols, 8th edn (Paris: Picard, 1977-85) I, 428.

¹⁶⁴ *La complainte de la sainte église (Vie du Monde)*, in *Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. by M. Zink, 2 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1990), II, 449-59 (p. 450, verse iv). The poem survives in five manuscripts: two dating from the late-thirteenth century (BnF, MS fr. 1635; Paris, BnF, MS français, 1553); three from the early-fourteenth century (Paris, BnF, MS français, 24432; Paris, BnF, MS français, 25545; Paris, BnF, MS français 12483). The attribution of this work to Rutebeuf remains questionable.

‘history’ and *chanson de geste* in the process.¹⁶⁵ In all three poems Charlemagne and his companions appear as chivalric models. Rutebeuf’s intention was to highlight that, for the most part, contemporary French knights were failing to imitate these models adequately. In none of these three poems was any attempt made to establish a connection between Charlemagne and the Empire. In *Le dit de Pouille* Rutebeuf’s intention was to suggest that Charles d’Anjou *was* imitating this chivalric model and to encourage others to do so. There is little to suggest, as Folz believed, that Rutebeuf considered Charles to be reclaiming a Carolingian imperial inheritance.¹⁶⁶

The nature of the concerns that dictated approaches to the Carolingian kings explains why, with, as will be discussed in chapter six, the notable exception of the tract *Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem*, few arguments extrapolated from the imperial status associated with several of these Carolingian rulers emerged in thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century France. In consequence, there is little to support, for example, Jacques Krynen’s assertion that Charlemagne’s association with the Empire played an important part in stimulating the attribution of juridical concepts associated with imperial authority to the French king, a view whose origin lies, essentially, in an acceptance of the Folz *thèse*.¹⁶⁷

This would suggest that the French imperial candidatures of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries originated from a quite different impetus than that of recovering a Carolingian ‘imperial’ inheritance. It seems

¹⁶⁵ A point noted by Caroline Smith, p. 92.

¹⁶⁶ Unfortunately, it has not proved possible to compare Rutebeuf’s approach with that of Girart d’Amiens. Girart’s 23,000 line epic poem, which survives in two manuscripts and partially in a third, has been edited recently for the first time but, at the time of writing, this edition was unavailable in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and it has not proved possible to consult a copy elsewhere (D. Métraux, *A Critical Edition of ‘L’Istoire Le Roy Charlemaine’ de Girart d’Amiens: Poème épique du XIV^e siècle*, 3 vols (Lewiston: Mellen, 2003)). Isabelle Guyot-Bachy suggests that the work was produced for Charles de Valois and that it was composed in 1308 at the time of Charles’ imperial candidature (Guyot-Bachy, ‘La diffusion du *Roman des roys*’, p. 94), although others have suggested a date of composition as early as 1303–06 (M.-R. Jung, ‘Girart d’Amiens, poet’, in *LexMA*, IV, 1460)). It is possible that Charles may have come into contact with Italian Guelf traditions relating to Charlemagne in the course of the southern Italian expeditions he led in support of the Angevin king, Charles II of Salerno, in the opening years of the fourteenth century. For details of Charles de Valois’s Italian campaign: É. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1954), pp. 191–96.

¹⁶⁷ Krynen, *L’Empire*, pp. 386–87.

unlikely that the candidatures were simply the product of circumstance and opportunity. It is more probable that the motivation that lay behind them was connected with the same factors that led Dubois and others to regard the fact that Charlemagne had become emperor as something which contributed to his magnificence and the *Grandes Chroniques*, a work devoted to the history of the French kings, to give peculiar prominence to the *Romzüge* of Henry VII and Ludwig of Bavaria.

THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS

Concern with Capetian dynastic legitimacy was not the only consideration beyond immediate issues such as Valois-Luxembourg relations to formulate attitudes towards imperial rulers in the northern French milieu. The need to prove Capetian dynastic legitimacy arose out of fundamental conceptions of how the world should be properly ordered. Other concerns which arose as a consequence of these notions similarly influenced views of and approaches to the Empire and its rulers. The reception enjoyed by Jacques de Révigny's proposed justification for the disenfranchisement of the Hohenstaufen offers an instructive example of the effect these concerns could have upon French attitudes.

Jacques de Révigny (d. 1296), an Orléanais jurist, dismissed the legitimacy of Frederick II's children on the basis of a legal argument: Frederick had been an heretic and consequently his children could not succeed him. Jacques himself admitted that the question of filial disinheritance was, in legal terms, not uncontroversial, and noted that some jurists held a different view to his own.¹ Yet, even so, it is striking that this convenient legal justification for the disinheritance of Frederick's offspring, an action in which Louis IX's brother, Charles d'Anjou, and many other French lords had actively participated, resonated so little in France. Only one account written north of the Loire appears to have embraced Jacques' argument wholeheartedly: an anonymous French chronicle of almost certainly limited circulation, written in the closing

¹ Discussed with reference to *Corpus iuris civilis*, Code 1.5.19: K. Bezemer, *What Jacques Saw: Thirteenth Century France Through the Eyes of Jacques de Révigny, Professor of Law at Orleans*, Studien zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte: Ius commune, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Europäische Rechtsgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Sonderhefte, 99 (Frankfurt a.M.: Klostermann, 1997), pp. 135, 138.

years of the thirteenth century, offered it as justification for the disinheritance of Frederick's son, Conrad,² and his grandson, Conradin.³ Only a partial echo of Jacques' argument appeared elsewhere: the chronicler of Saint-Martin of Limoges suggested that many were surprised by Charles' disinheritance of the children of the Sicilian king Manfred, yet the Count of Anjou's actions were justifiable because Manfred had been an heretic.⁴

The view that heresy could result in the permanent disinheritance of a dynasty contradicted a number of widely held assumptions in northern France concerning rulership and inheritance. Jacques de Révigny's argument might be legally acceptable and might even have reflected papal reasoning but it remained contrary to fundamental precepts of French culture. Considerations and judgements amongst northern French writers, particularly but not exclusively lay writers, were informed by the norms of the culture of which they were a part. Conceptions of the nature of inheritance and the mechanisms through which it operated played a particularly important role, on one level at least, in moulding perceptions of imperial rulers, would-be rulers, and the imperial institution.

The Inalienability of Inheritance

In 1245, at the council of Lyon, Pope Innocent IV deposed Frederick II from all his crowns and went on to declare that Frederick and his entire family were unfit to rule anyone.⁵ Not only did Louis IX and Blanche de Castille remain on good terms with Frederick and Conrad after Innocent's proclamation, as has been noted in chapter three, but their approach to the Hohenstaufen was marked by the apparent decision simply to ignore the venomous bulls issuing

² 'Vous avez bien oï ça arrière comment l'empereour Fedric fu condempnez [. . .] Icil Fedric avoit I. autre fuiz, qui avoit non Conrat [. . .] Et deust cil Conras, il ou ses hoir, estre rois dou roiaume de Sesille après l'empereour Fedric; mais il l'avoient perdu par la condempnation', *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, pp. 88–89.

³ The chronicler summed up Conradin's campaign against Charles with the comment: 'il n'i avoient raison, pour le condempnement de l'empereour Fedric, qui avoit fourfait le roiaume en ce qu'il avoit erré contre Saint Yglise. Et Dieux le moustra bien à lui et à ses hoirs', *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, p. 90.

⁴ *Ex notis S. Martini Lemovicensibus*, p. 438.

⁵ Stürner, II, 533–39.

from the papal chancery.⁶ At the same time, while an alliance was discussed between Frederick and Louis,⁷ the papal pronouncements seem to have deterred the French king from entering into any formal agreement.⁸ Nevertheless, if Louis was not entirely indifferent to Innocent's denunciations, his chancery would still choose to open a letter in 1247 with the phrase 'Excellentissimo et karissimo amico suo Friderico' and employ all the titles of which Innocent had so recently deprived Frederick.⁹ Henry III, writing to a non-excommunicate emperor, who shortly before had been his brother-in-law, was not nearly so obsequious.¹⁰

Dealings with Gregory IX in the late 1220s almost certainly informed Louis's approach to Frederick's later misfortunes and cautioned him against accepting papal proclamations entirely at their face value.¹¹ In July 1229, for example, Gregory wrote a letter to Louis denouncing the truce Frederick had established with the Islamic ruler al-Kamil and the Emperor's general failings as a crusader.¹² In a letter written to the Bishop of Paris a few months later, Gregory accused Frederick of cheating both God and the Church and dismissed his crusading activities as a failure, roundly condemning him for treating with the Saracens.¹³ Yet only a year later Gregory could write to Louis describing a meal he had taken with Frederick and referring to the Emperor in glowing terms.¹⁴

⁶ Robert Fawtier noted the fact that Louis never broke off his relations with the Emperor despite the 'excommunications les plus solennelles accumulées par le Saint-Siège sur la tête de Frédéric II'. He went on to suggest that the documentation would suggest that the relations between the two, 'ont été dans l'ensemble excellentes': R. Fawtier, 'Saint Louis et Frédéric II', in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Federiciani (dicembre, 1950)* (Palermo: A. Renna, 1952) pp. 97–101 (p. 99) (repr. in Robert Fawtier, *Autour de la France capétienne: personnages et institutions*, ed. by J. C. Fawtier Stone (London: Variorum, 1987)); Jordan, *Louis*, p. 27; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 168.

⁷ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vi, 502 (February/March 1247).

⁸ Huillard-Bréholles, 'Relations diplomatiques', p. cccxi.

⁹ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vi, 501 (February/March 1247).

¹⁰ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vi, 906 (8 January 1243, apud Bordeaux).

¹¹ David Abulafia has questioned the extent to which the emotive language used by Frederick and the papacy influenced either Louis or Henry III: Abulafia, *Frederick*, p. 319. Cf. Jordan, *Louis*, p. 29.

¹² *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, iii, 147–50 (18 July 1229, Perugia).

¹³ MGH *Epistolae saeculi XIII*, i, no. 404, pp. 323–33 (30 September 1229, Perugia).

¹⁴ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, iii, 228–29 (September 1230). Also: MGH *Epistolae saeculi XIII*, i, no. 419, pp. 338–39 (September/October 1230).

Louis and Blanche had good reasons, connected with the needs of Louis's crusade, for paying little heed to Innocent's sentence of deposition in the late 1240s. They had been equally unwilling in late 1239 to cooperate with Gregory IX's proposal that Frederick be replaced with Louis's eldest brother Robert I d'Artois.¹⁵ Aubri de Trois-Fontaines singled out Blanche, in particular, as having discouraged acceptance of the papal plan.¹⁶ A general dislike of ecclesiastical interference in lay affairs, an attitude which, as I noted in chapter one, was prevalent amongst the French baronage and which Louis himself had displayed signs of, almost certainly played a part in this decision. At the same time, the Capetian stance, both in 1239 and in the late 1240s, was probably also a reflection of a more fundamental aversion to the idea of the permanent disinheritance of a dynasty.

Disinheritance was itself by no means considered to be a theoretical impossibility. Joinville's account of the reasoning Louis offered for his decision to restore the English king Henry III to certain of the continental lands confiscated from his father, John, suggests that Louis regarded the permanent forfeiture of a fief as an indisputably valid legal practice. To the argument of his counsellors that John's fiefs had been confiscated by a valid judgement *respondi le roy que il savoit bien que le roy d'Angleterre n'i avoit droit*.¹⁷ Nevertheless, there was a considerable difference between the theory of feudal law and its practice. The very magnanimity of the 1259 treaty of Paris, by which Louis came to terms with Henry over the confiscated lands, suggests that the French king was unwilling to see even Plantagenet rights abrogated completely. In the cautious reply Louis had made in 1249 to the request by Henry FitzIsabella, Frederick's son by Henry III's sister, the French king had in fact already hinted that he was at least willing to consider English claims.¹⁸ Both Primat¹⁹ and Guillaume de Nangis,²⁰ while noting that John had been justly deprived of his lands, suggested

¹⁵ Berger, *Louis et Innocent*, pp. 3–5; Kienast, III, 610, n. 1741.

¹⁶ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 949 (under the year 1241).

¹⁷ *Livre des saintes paroles*, § 65, p. 32; § 679, p. 338.

¹⁸ *Chronica majora*, v, 71.

¹⁹ *Chronique de Primat*, p. 16.

²⁰ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, p. 412. Repeated by the translators in *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, p. 413; *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 125–26, but absent or downplayed in accounts of the 1259 negotiations in Guillaume's later work: *Chronique latine*, I, 220, and later material: *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 208, 221–22. Guillaume's changing view, in particular, should probably be seen in the context of the re-

that Louis sought a settlement with Henry in 1259 because his grandfather's actions troubled the French king's conscience. The minstrel of Reims, reflecting, perhaps, attitudes towards disinheritance that would have permeated the thought of his audience, the nobility of the northern French milieu, stated not only that Louis's conscience pricked him but that it had been suggested by some that John had been entitled to the return of his lands if he had amended his errors and that the same was true of his son.²¹

That the idea of permanent disinheritance generated a degree of disquiet amongst the aristocracy as a whole in the thirteenth century is suggested by contemporary English events. At the urging of Ottobuono Fieschi (later Pope Adrian V), the papal legate sent to attempt to mediate a peaceful settlement between the English king and his barons in the aftermath of the Plantagenet-de Montfort dispute, Henry III made provision in the *Dictum of Kenilworth* (1266) — albeit provision involving severe financial penalties — for the return of lands to magnates who he had, at first, attempted to disinherit permanently as a punishment for their support of Simon de Montfort.²² To some extent this was clearly a pragmatic policy on Henry's part, but even in cases where it did not prove politically expedient to return confiscated lands, the King appears to have quickly substituted an illusion of continued possession for the idea of permanent disinheritance: rather than being disinherited Robert Ferrers, Earl of Derby, for example, was allowed to maintain his title and, technically, had his lands placed in guardianship although the conditions for their return were set in such a way as to make it quite impossible for him to reacquire them.²³ The

commencement of Anglo-French hostilities in the 1290s. I discussed this point, and changing French attitudes to the English more generally, in a paper delivered at the conference 'Le royaume d'Angleterre au 13^e siècle: les effets linguistiques et littéraires de la perte du duché de Normandie' held at the Université Paris IV-Sorbonne in March 2004 and plan to publish a paper on this topic.

²¹ '[...] mais se li rois Jehans ou si oir vousissent venir au roi, et li requessent saisine de leur terre parmi droit faisant, et amendeir les deffautes par le jugement de pers, il la deust ravoïr', *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xliii, p. 235.

²² Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, pp. 206–13.

²³ M. Bateson and J. H. Denton, 'Usury and Comital Disinheritance: The Case of Ferrers Versus Lancaster, St Paul's, London 1301', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 43 (1992), 60–96 (pp. 61–67). This arrangement seems to have been conveniently forgotten by the time the Earl's son, John Ferrers, sought to reclaim his father's lands in the early-fourteenth century: a narrative among the Duchy of Lancaster muniments, written after Robert Ferrer's death, could portray the Earl as having agreed, after an initial re-conciliation with the King after Evesham, to

clearest suggestion that Henry's brother-in-law's family were uncomfortable with the idea of permanently disinheriting a dynasty is to be found in Capetian attitudes towards the Saint-Gilles counts of Toulouse.

While Count Raymond VII's father might have died an unrepentant heretic, his own faith have remained somewhat questionable, and he himself have been frequently excommunicated,²⁴ none of these things were perceived to justify permanently dispossessing him of all his lands and titles. In 1232, less than four years after imposing the treaty of Paris-Meaux upon Raymond, Louis IX and Blanche actively petitioned Gregory IX to return the lands confiscated from Raymond and given over to the papacy under the terms of the treaty.²⁵ In May 1234, in the face of Gregory's repeated refusal to cooperate,²⁶ Louis chose to withdraw military support from the papal administrators of these lands, effectively leaving them open to reoccupation by Raymond.²⁷ A degree of chastisement was acceptable, but the Capetians seem, ultimately, to have been uncomfortable with one of the guiding principles of the thirteenth-century papacy established under Innocent III: that a ruler's spiritual misdemeanours could lead to the ecclesiastical authorities depriving him permanently of his right to temporal rulership.²⁸ Such temporal possessions, as Louis's own barons argued in their anti-clerical manifesto, were not acquired through clerics but won by the sword.²⁹

Frederick himself seems to have recognized the prevalence of this attitude in France. Amongst the several letters he addressed to the French baronage seeking to sway opinion in his favour, one in particular is striking. The Emperor chose

his permanent disinheritance for any further act of rebellion. The narrative suggested that having subsequently rebelled, Robert was quite properly disinherited and his lands granted out by the King: Bateson and Denton, 'Usury and Comital Disinheritance', pp. 79–80.

²⁴ For a summary of the last Saint-Gilles counts's often strained relations with the Church: J. Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade* (London: Faber, 1978).

²⁵ Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, pp. 132–33. Louis sent a similar letter in 1235: J. Fornery, *Histoire du Comté Venaissin et de la ville d'Avignon*, 3 vols (Avignon: Seguin, 1909; repr. Marseille: Laffitte, 1982), II, no. xiii, pp. 394–95.

²⁶ For Gregory's response to Louis in 1232: Fornery, II, no. vii, pp. 384–85; to Raymond in 1232 and 1234: *ibid.*, II, no. vii, pp. 383–84; 386.

²⁷ Louis's letter: *ibid.*, II, no. ix, pp. 391–92. Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, p. 137.

²⁸ Innocent's personal position was probably less clear cut than the Fourth Lateran Council's rulings concerning Count Raymond VI: J. Sayers, *Innocent III: Leader of Europe 1198–1216* (London: Longman, 1994), pp. 160–62.

²⁹ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, VI, 467–68 (November 1246).

to put the case for the established legitimacy of the house of Hohenstaufen as rulers of the Empire: '[. . .] quibusdam ex eis Romanum imperium quod a *Stoffensi domo* longevi jam temporis diuturnitate divertere dedidicit et regna nostra predecessorum nostrorum quesita sanguinibus [. . .]'.³⁰ It is notable that his letter to the French barons appears to be the only instance in which Frederick made use of an argument which suggested that Hohenstaufen rights to the Empire could be equated with dynastic inheritance. This is all the more striking as his usage, in which 'house' was associated with a specific lineage, appears to have been unusual: it was more common for the term to be associated with the most important title possessed by a family.³¹ It is extremely unlikely that this idea reflected Frederick's own conception of imperial authority and its origins,³² informed, almost certainly, by a combination of the neo-Roman imperialism developed in Frederick Barbarossa's court and the Byzantine despotism of the Norman-Sicilian ruler Roger II.³³ Faced by an increasingly intractable pontiff, however, the Emperor effectively invited the French baronage to view himself and his family in the same light as they viewed themselves.³⁴ There is good reason to think that Frederick had not misjudged his audience and that the Hohenstaufen were considered a dynasty which possessed rights based upon the same principles as those applied to the Plantagenet and Saint-Gilles dynasties or, indeed, to the Capetians themselves; what is less clear is whether such dynastic principles were considered applicable in the specific case of the Empire.

The Hohenstaufen – A Dynasty like any Other?

Charles d'Anjou's 1266 expedition to displace Manfred of Hohenstaufen from the southern Italian *regno* was a venture proposed and blessed by the Church. Its participants, as the various popes who promoted it were frequently keen to

³⁰ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vi, 514–18 (April 1247, Parma).

³¹ J.-M. Moeglin, 'Les dynasties princières allemandes et la notion de Maison à la fin du Moyen Âge', in *Les Princes et le pouvoir au moyen âge, XXIII^e Congrès de la S. H. M. E. S. Brest, mai 1992* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1993), pp. 137–54 (pp. 138–43).

³² For discussion of Frederick's views: Kantorowicz, *Friedrich*, pp. 340–549; Abulafia, *Frederick*, pp. 202–25.

³³ For a recent summary of these influences: Stürner, i, 1–40.

³⁴ Compare with Berger's account of this letter: *Louis et Innocent*, p. 253.

point out, were effectively crusaders.³⁵ Papal policy encountered resistance from several quarters and particularly from the French clergy who were made to bear the brunt of the costs through ecclesiastical taxes.³⁶ To justify a crusade which could be accused of diverting resources from the Holy Land it was necessary to vilify Manfred. The proof lay in two themes, often discussed in close proximity to each other, particularly by Dionysian writers:³⁷ Manfred's mistreatment of the Church³⁸ and the succour he gave to Saracens from whom he subsequently obtained support.³⁹

Other accusations levelled at Manfred included heresy⁴⁰ and the murder of his own father.⁴¹ Amongst French sources, the latter charge remained unique to Bernard Gui, who had probably encountered the idea in Italy — where it appears to have been more common⁴² — in the course of 1317, the year he

³⁵ N. Housley, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades Against Christian Lay Powers, 1254–1343* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 35–70.

³⁶ Housley, *The Italian Crusades*, pp. 106–10, 142; with reference to resistance to taxation: *ibid.*, pp. 190–92. Berg suggested that Housley's assertion that this criticism was partisan and limited in its impact was 'unwarranted': B. Berg, 'Manfred of Sicily and Urban IV: Negotiations of 1262', *Mediaeval Studies*, 55 (1993), 111–36 (p. 135).

³⁷ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, p. 412; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 220; *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, p. 413; *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 127 and vii, 162.

³⁸ For example: *Chronique de Primat*, p. 23; *Chronique attribuée à Baudouin d'Avesnes*, p. 172; *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, p. 87; BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 371^v; *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 135.

³⁹ For example: *Andreae Ungari descriptio victoriae a Karolo Provinciae comite reportatae*, pp. 566, 576, 580; *Chronique de Primat*, p. 25; *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, p. 88; *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 530; Alternative recension of Geoffroi de Collon's universal chronicle, *Ex Gaufridi de Collone Chronico*, ed. by O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS, 26, pp. 613–22 (p. 620); *La Branche des Roys Lignages*, line 10811, p. 197; *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 139 and vii, 224, 239. Guillaume de Puylaurens made vague but equally damning statements: *Guillaume de Puylaurens. Chronique 1145–1275*, p. 200. This latter version was adopted by Bernard Gui, *Flores chronicorum*, pp. 699–700.

⁴⁰ *Chronique de Primat*, p. 37; *Ex notis S. Martini Lemovicensibus*, p. 438. The *Chronique rimée dite de Saint-Magloire* described Manfred as *plains de mauvesse foy*: line 101, p. 83.

⁴¹ *Flores chronicorum*, p. 697.

⁴² For Manfred's alleged patricide in the accounts of Brunetto Latini and Giovanni Villani: Sommerlechner, pp. 465–66.

spent there in papal service.⁴³ More striking is the fact that very few writers levelled charges of heresy against Manfred, and, as one of them was Primat, it is notable, that the idea was not taken up by the Dionysian scriptorium. Heresy, like mistreatment of the Church and alliances with Saracens, certainly illustrated Manfred's villainy, yet there existed a more fundamental reason why his removal was considered unquestionably justified in France. This latter enjoyed wide circulation and had little to do with papal crusading arguments. It explains why the compilers of Pierre Honoré's *Grandes Chroniques* felt perfectly at liberty to ignore Manfred's fraternization with the Saracens, even though the point was readily available in their probable source, Guillaume de Nangis's universal chronicle.

Manfred differed in one fundamental respect from Frederick and Conrad, or indeed from members of a family that had been equally vilified, that of Saint-Gilles: Manfred was a bastard. It is not coincidental that his illegitimacy was a point that writers and compilers within the northern French cultural milieu noted with near unanimity. This was true whether a work originated in Normandy,⁴⁴ Hainaut,⁴⁵ Flanders and the northern part of the kingdom,⁴⁶ the Île-de-France,⁴⁷ or further south as the product of predominantly Dominican influences.⁴⁸ The idea was common to chronicles of limited circulation⁴⁹ and to the most widely known vernacular texts to issue from the Dionysian scriptorium.⁵⁰ Its importance is emphasized by the fact that although the point was missing from Guillaume de Nangis's *Gesta Ludovici*, it was scrupulously

⁴³ Concerning this aspect of Gui's career: Guenée, *Entre l'Église et l'État*, p. 69.

⁴⁴ *E Chronico Normanniae* p. 216; *E Chronico Rotomagensi*, p. 340.

⁴⁵ *Chronique attribuée a Baudoïn d'Avesnes*, p. 172.

⁴⁶ The minstrel of Reims confused the kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem and claimed one of Frederick's illegitimate sons seized the latter: *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxiii, p. 128.

⁴⁷ BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 371^r. The rumour that Manfred was said by some to have been a bastard was reported at Sens by Geoffroi de Collon: *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 520.

⁴⁸ *Excerpta E Floribus Historiarum auctore Adamo Claromontensi*, p. 78, n. 12; *Abbreviatione Historiae Figuralis*, p. 216; *Flores chronicorum*, p. 697. Also: Guillaume de Puylaurens. *Chronique 1145–1275*, p. 200.

⁴⁹ For example: *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, p. 86.

⁵⁰ *Chronique de Primat*, p. 23; *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 26, 86, 127 and vii, 81, 160, 217, 237.

integrated in the first translation of the *Gesta*⁵¹ and included by Guillaume himself in his later universal chronicle.⁵² Charles d'Anjou's conquest of the *regno* was not unimportant in Guillaume's *Gesta*,⁵³ but the Dionysian school appears to have recognized a need to include what came to be regarded as an important justification for Charles' actions.

Legitimate descent was, from a French perspective, of fundamental importance if the succession to rights, such as a crown, was to be considered valid. It was, for example, one of the factors dictating which rulers could be included in lists of French kings. Bernard Gui discounted Louis III from his list on the grounds that he had been a bastard.⁵⁴ Geoffroi de Collon appears to have expressed similar concerns about the inclusion of the Carolingian 'Arnulf', by whom he almost certainly meant the illegitimate Arnulf of Carinthia (d. 899), in his list of emperors.⁵⁵ Although the monk of Sens did choose to include Arnulf in this list, his illegitimacy was noted and a series of other emperors were depicted as having reigned during his lifetime, a fact which cast some doubt on Arnulf's position. Geoffroi's decision to include Arnulf at all was probably based on the Emperor's alleged 'French' descent, a fact highlighted by the chronicler alongside his illegitimacy.⁵⁶ Simon d'Orléans, illuminating Jean de Dampierre-Saint-Dizier's *L'art de la chace des oisiaus*, depicted Manfred seated upon a throne but without a crown. By choosing to depart from Manfred's portrayal in his Italian exemplar, Simon drew a striking contrast with Frederick

⁵¹ *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, p. 413.

⁵² Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 210.

⁵³ Chazan, 'Guillaume de Nangis et la translation de l'Empire', pp. 468–70, 476.

⁵⁴ Lamarrigue, 'Redaction d'un catalogue des rois de France', p. 490.

⁵⁵ Arnulf was a grandson of Louis the German (d. 876), the son, by a concubine, of the latter's son Carloman (d. 880). He became king of the East Franks in 887 and emperor in 896. Arnulf's skills as a military leader helped establish him in the eastern Carolingian kingdom: McKitterick, p. 235.

⁵⁶
 Arnulphus Francorum non ex legitima
 Ludouicus, rex Francorum, uiuente Arnulpho
 Karolus, consanguineus Ludouici, rex Alemannie
 Karolus nepos
 Iterum Arnulphus non ex legitima

Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, p. 22. Arnulf's illegitimacy is referred to again in the main body of Geoffroi's chronicle: 'Defuncto Karolo III, Arnulphus, filius suus ex noblili sed non ex legitima, parum imperauit', *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 308.

whom he depicted crowned on the same folio.⁵⁷ Simon's point was clear: Manfred, unlike Frederick, was not a valid king. To be illegitimate was to be near bereft of a claim upon a father's inheritance. Manfred may have been an oppressor of the Church and a friend of the infidel, but in France it was his illegitimacy, a factor omitted from very few accounts,⁵⁸ that came to form the real core of the justification for his deposition and replacement.

Manfred's position was determined by a French understanding of the mechanisms by which dynastic inheritance operated. This led to the conclusion that it was permissible to disenfranchise him because he *ne tenoit pas le royaume par raison de heritage, mais par force*.⁵⁹ If Manfred could claim anything at all, it was the somewhat nebulous status of 'Prince of Tarento', the provision made for him in Frederick's will.⁶⁰ Canon law permitted, and indeed encouraged, small bequests to illegitimate children,⁶¹ although it is possible that the only French writer who seems to have recognized Manfred's possession of this title, Guillaume de Nangis,⁶² did so because it was accorded some acknowledgment by Innocent IV and Alexander IV.⁶³ The tendency to view the Hohenstaufen through a prism of French attitudes towards inheritance was by no means restricted solely to the justification of Manfred's disenfranchisement.

⁵⁷ BnF, MS fr. 12400, fol. 2^r. Cf. Vatican, Pal. lat., MS 1071, fol. 1^v: Toubert, 'Les enluminures', p. 409, fig. 1. Simon did depict Manfred wearing a crown, but in a much less striking image buried in the text: BnF, MS fr. 12400, fol. 86^r (illuminated initial).

⁵⁸ That Andrew of Hungary drew no distinction between Conrad and Manfred is a further suggestion that this issue was of particular concern to those formed by the French cultural milieu.

⁵⁹ *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, p. 89.

⁶⁰ Stürner, II, 588.

⁶¹ J. A. Brundage, 'Concubinage and Marriage in Medieval Canon Law', in *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, ed. by V. L. Bullough and J. A. Brundage (Buffalo: Prometheus, 1982), pp. 118–28 (p. 127); J. A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 409, 480.

⁶² *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, p. 412; *Gesta Philippi Regis Franciae, filii sanctae memoriae regis Ludovici*, p. 516.

⁶³ Richard, *Louis*, p. 461.

The kingdom of Jerusalem was clearly recognized by both lay⁶⁴ and ecclesiastical⁶⁵ writers in France to be the hereditary patrimony of the Hohenstaufen. Despite the claim that the *regno* was a fief whose disposal lay wholly in papal hands,⁶⁶ the same assumption appears to have often been made with regard to the Sicilian kingdom, particularly by lay writers. The minstrel of Reims, for example, regarded the *regno* as consisting of three kingdoms that Frederick held *de son heritage*.⁶⁷ The assumption by many that the *regno* was also part of a Hohenstaufen 'patrimony' almost certainly accounts for the emphasis placed upon Manfred's status as a bastard in accounts of his removal. It may also explain why Charles d'Anjou's 1268 victory over Conradin at the battle of Tagliacozzo,⁶⁸ as spectacular as that he won over Manfred at Benevento, found, with the exception of Geoffroi de Collon's account,⁶⁹ far less prominence on the French page. It could even disappear altogether from accounts that otherwise took an active interest in Charles d'Anjou's conquest of the *regno*.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ For example: 'et l'empereres l'espousa [Isabella de Brienne], et en ot un fil qui ot à non Conras et fu mariez à la fille le duc de Baviere, et en ot un fil qui encore vit, qui deust avoir le roiaume de Jhersusalem.', *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxiii, p. 123. Also: Philippe Mousket, *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 31157–70, p. 80.

⁶⁵ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 913; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, 1, 169. The Soissons continuator of William of Tyre's chronicle noted that the Hospitalers, the Genoese, and the Spanish had strongly defended Conradin's right of succession in the kingdom of Jerusalem when it was challenged by an alternative candidate — the latter supported by, amongst others, the Teutonic knights according to the continuator — on the grounds: 'Aincoiz en estoit oirz li filz Corraz [Conradin], car Corraz [Conrad] estoit filz de la fille [Isabella de Brienne] le roi Jehan d'Acre, qui estoit li droiz oirz de la terre', *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, chap. lxxix, p. 634.

⁶⁶ For the background to these claims: Abulafia, *Frederick*, pp. 11–62; Stürner, 1, 15–33.

⁶⁷ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxii, pp. 112–13. Also: *Chronique attribuée à Baudouin d'Avesnes*, p. 171.

⁶⁸ For an account: F. Schirrmacher, *Die letzten Hohenstaufen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck-Ruprecht, 1871), pp. 309–92; Léonard, pp. 64–73; S. Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), pp. 96–115; Dunbabin, *Charles*, p. 169.

⁶⁹ *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, pp. 534, 538.

⁷⁰ For example: *Andreae Ungari descriptio victoriae a Karolo Provinciae comite reportatae*, pp. 559–80; *E Chronico Rotomagensi*, p. 340; *Ex continuatione Gestorum episcoporum Autissiodorensium*, ed. by G. Waitz, MGH SS, 26, 584–86 (p. 586); *Chronique rimée dite de Saint-Magloire*, lines 98–111, pp. 83–84; *E Chronico monasterii Sancti Taurini Ebroicensis*, p. 467; *Ex Uticensis monasterii annalibus et necrologio*, p. 481;

It has been suggested that in deciding whether or not to permit his brother to accept the papal offer to displace Manfred, Louis IX was primarily concerned with the claims of Henry III's son, Edmund, to the *regno*,⁷¹ and that Louis had envisioned a settlement with Henry which would have subsidized an English invasion of Sicily.⁷² The 1259 treaty of Paris made provision for a two-year subsidy to pay for five hundred knights who would be used for the service of God, and of the Church, and to the profit of the kingdom of England.⁷³ When Pope Alexander IV had suggested the inclusion of such a clause to Henry III it is certain that both the English king and the Pope had had the Sicilian business firmly in mind.⁷⁴ Yet the clause, as it appeared in the treaty, was open to rather different interpretations: the minstrel of Reims, for example, understood it, albeit in a rather garbled form, to concern the Holy Land.⁷⁵ It should not automatically be assumed that by agreeing to include the clause Louis intended

Anonymum S. Martialis Chronicon ab anno M. CC. VII. ad ann. M. CCC. XX., p. 133; *E Breviario historiarum Landulphi de Columna*, pp. 196–97; *Ex Annalibus monasterii Sancti Wandregisili*, ed. by N. de Wailly, L. Delisle and C.-M.-G. B. Jourdain, in *RHGF*, xxiii, 424–28 (p. 425); *E Chronico sanctae Catharinae de Monte Rotomagi*, p. 405.

⁷¹ Berg, 'Manfred of Sicily', pp. 131–32.

⁷² Richard, *Louis*, p. 462. For the place of the 'Sicilian business' in Henry III's wider European policy: Weiler, *Henry III*, pp. 146–71. Also: B. Weiler, 'Henry III and the Sicilian Business: A Reinterpretation', *Historical Research*, 74 (2001), 127–50. Although the negotiations that led up to the treaty appear to have been initiated by Henry III in 1257, very probably under papal pressure, there are indications that Louis was keen to negotiate a permanent settlement as early as May 1254: F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947), p. 239. As Dr Weiler has noted (*Henry III*, p. 167, n. 187) the Anglo-French peace should be considered alongside other elements of Louis's policy, such as the similar territorial settlement he made with Aragon in 1258. If these policies are to be understood fully they need to be seen within the wider context of Capetian crusading policy: they form part of a concerted effort on Louis's part to establish peace and initiate moral reform within France, both factors which, from the King's perspective, were as important to recovering the Holy Land — if not more so — than any military preparations.

⁷³ *Layettes*, iii, no. 4554, p. 488 (13 October 1259, London). For a slightly different wording: *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 212.

⁷⁴ Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, p. 124.

⁷⁵ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xliii, p. 236.

to indicate support for Henry's Sicilian scheme.⁷⁶ Such an interpretation seems particularly unlikely in light of the annulment of the papal grant of Sicily to Edmund in December 1258.⁷⁷ A report sent to Urban IV between October and December 1262⁷⁸ by the notary Alberto, the man charged by the Pope with broaching the question of removing Manfred to the French king, certainly mentioned Louis's concern for Edmund's rights. It also suggested, however, that the King was particularly concerned that Conradin's rights would be ignored.⁷⁹ If it was Conradin whom Manfred had disinherited through his usurpation of the Sicilian throne, as Dionysian⁸⁰ and a number of other writers⁸¹ suggested, Conradin's own displacement became harder to justify. Conradin's disinheritance could be adequately accounted for only by those who considered him to be rebelling against the Church, such as Adam de Clermont⁸² and Girard d'Auvergne,⁸³ or by wholeheartedly embracing Jacques de Révigny's legal explanation that Frederick's crimes had disinherited his heirs.⁸⁴

Geoffroi de Collon's forthright statement that Conradin's execution was his own fault because he had threatened to do the same to Charles d'Anjou if he had won was unusual.⁸⁵ At the same time it reflects an apparently widespread

⁷⁶ Compare with E. Jordan, *Les origines de la domination angevine en Italie* (Paris: Picard, 1909), p. 375, n. 3.

⁷⁷ Runciman, p. 63.

⁷⁸ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, inde ab a. post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV*, ed. by A. Potthast, 2 vols (Berlin: de Decker, 1874–75), no. 18440. Berg's re-dating of this letter to 1263 is unconvincing: 'Manfred of Sicily', p. 132, n. 106. Omission of any reference to Charles' candidature indicates an earlier date: Jordan, *Origines*, p. 375.

⁷⁹ Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi desinit Cardinalis Baronius*, 15 vols (Lucca: Venturini, 1747–56), III, 90. Berg passed over in silence the prominent place Alberto accorded to Conradin in Louis's doubts.

⁸⁰ *Chronique de Primat*, p. 23; *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, p. 412; *Gesta Philippi Regis Franciae, filii sanctae memoriae regis Ludovici*, p. 516; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 211–12; *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, p. 413; *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 127, 135 and vii, 246–47.

⁸¹ *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, pp. 526–28; BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 372^v.

⁸² *Excerpta E Floribus Historiarum auctore Adamo Claromontensi*, p. 79.

⁸³ *Abbreviatione Historiae Figuralis*, pp. 216–17.

⁸⁴ *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, p. 90.

⁸⁵ Geoffroi appears to have adopted the basic elements of his account from Martin of Troppau but added an alleged conversation between Conradin and Charles that led to the former, quite literally, losing his head: 'Et dicitur quod rex Karolus petiit ab ipso dicens:

inability amongst French writers to find an adequate justification for the execution. Doubts raised in relation to Conradin's position may explain the attempts by many of those who chose to recount his death, particularly the Dionysians, to absolve Charles of direct responsibility by attributing the decision to royal lawyers,⁸⁶ advisers,⁸⁷ or even the citizens of Naples.⁸⁸

The son of the Count of Flanders was said to have become so angry at the condemnation of a nobleman that, in front of King Charles, he killed the notary who read the sentence.⁸⁹ Although almost certainly apocryphal,⁹⁰ Ricordano Malispini's account of Robert de Béthune's actions may have captured the shocked reaction of northern France to an act which had permanently disinherited a family of its patrimony. The position of the Hohenstaufen in the *regno* appears to have been interpreted, at least by some, in terms of French dynastic conceptions; there is every indication that the position of the dynasty in the German lands of the Empire was considered in similar terms.

The Hohenstaufen — A German Dynasty?

Conrad of Hohenstaufen's rule of the imperial lands north of the Alps did not attract great attention in France. The one incident to become well known, largely because it was noted by Vincent de Beauvais⁹¹ and later proved of

"O Corrardine, quid de me faceres, si me captum teneres sicuti te teneo?" Cui sine consilio respondit Corrardinus: "Capite te troncarem." Ad quem rex: "Sine prudentia es, et absque consilio tu iudicasti temet ipsum", *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 538.

⁸⁶ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, pp. 436–38; *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, pp. 437–39; *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 159.

⁸⁷ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 234.

⁸⁸ *Grandes Chroniques*, VII, 258.

⁸⁹ *Storia fiorentina di Ricordano Malispini col seguito de Giacotto Malispini dalla edificazione di Firenze sino all'anno 1286*, ed. by V. Follini (Florence: Ricci, 1816), chap. cc, p. 167.

⁹⁰ At least one detail is clearly false: Robert of Bari, the notary who is supposed to have been the victim of this act of frustration, was still alive after 1268: A. Huillard-Bréholles, 'Nouvelles recherches sur la mort de Conradin et sur son véritable héritier', *L'Investigateur*, 144 (1851), 1–14 (p. 10).

⁹¹ *Speculum historiale*, bk xxxi, chap. i, p. 1286.

interest to the Dionysians,⁹² was the crusade which Innocent IV launched against him. The fifteen-year reign of Conrad's brother, Henry (VII), as King of Germany (1220–35) — a reign which ended with Henry's deposition and death⁹³ — similarly failed to elicit substantial comment.⁹⁴ When Henry found his way onto the French page it was most often in a note of his coronation⁹⁵ or in inaccurate accounts of his death.⁹⁶ Although the latter was by his own hand and, contrary to most French views, occurred in 1242,⁹⁷ lurid versions of Henry's fate occasionally appeared in France. Thus Geoffroi de Collon interpreted Henry's imprisonment as a consequence of his refusal to consent to Frederick's evil,⁹⁸ and on at least three occasions it was suggested that Frederick had actually murdered his eldest son,⁹⁹ a rumour by no means exclusive to France.¹⁰⁰ Only Henry's contemporaries, Philippe Mousket and Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, showed any substantial interest in his activities.

Aubri noted Henry's meeting with Louis VIII at Vaucouleurs,¹⁰¹ Gregory IX's attempt in 1230 to depose him in the course of the dispute that took place

⁹² *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, p. 352; *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, p. 353; *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 48–49 and vii, 112. An alternate version: Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, i, 199.

⁹³ Stürner, ii, 275–85, 296–309. On the process by which Henry was removed, his father's authority restored, and the impact of the revolt on Frederick's conception of imperial power: B. Weiler, 'Reasserting Power: Frederick II in Germany (1235–1236)', in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany 800–1500*, ed. by B. K. Weiler and S. MacLean, International Medieval Research, 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 241–71.

⁹⁴ For a survey of Henry in medieval historiography: Sommerlechner, pp. 453–57.

⁹⁵ For example: Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, i, 169.

⁹⁶ For example: *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, p. 382; *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, p. 383; *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 159–60. For the death of a son of Frederick who remained unnamed: *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 86.

⁹⁷ For a summary of the details relating to Henry's death: Abulafia, *Frederick*, pp. 241–42.

⁹⁸ *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 514. Sommerlechner, p. 456.

⁹⁹ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, i, 206; *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 514; *Flores chronicorum*, p. 697.

¹⁰⁰ Bernard Gui, for example, borrowed his account from Martin of Troppau: Sommerlechner, p. 456. Geoffroi was similarly borrowing from Martin although the phrase 'quia non malis patris consentiebat' appears to have been his own addition: *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 514.

¹⁰¹ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 914.

during Frederick's crusade,¹⁰² the diet held at Frankfurt am Main in 1234,¹⁰³ and Henry's rebellion, deposition and death.¹⁰⁴ Philippe offered more detail, including three notices of Henry's coronation,¹⁰⁵ his marriage to Margaret of Austria,¹⁰⁶ and a lengthy account of his deposition¹⁰⁷ and death. In his account of the latter Philippe included the rumour that Henry had been murdered by his father while in prison.¹⁰⁸ The proximity of both writers to the German lands of the Empire almost certainly explains their unusual interest in Henry, but they share a further common characteristic. Henry's deposition was a point Aubri and Philippe felt required some explanation and it is notable that both, writing for a French audience, settled upon a similar explanation.

While Aubri gave an account of Henry's rebellion and conspiracy against his father,¹⁰⁹ there is some indication that the Cistercian author did not consider this alone to provide sufficient reason to justify the enormity of Henry's punishment. Philippe Mousket does not even seem to have regarded the rebellion, an account of which is absent from his chronicle, as having anything to do with Henry's removal. For both Aubri and Philippe the real justification lay in the fact that Henry was not Frederick's son. This idea appeared in Aubri's account in a note where it was said that Frederick had denied he was Henry's father and consequently deposed him: 'Qui negans ipsum esse filium suum, deposuit eum de regno'.¹¹⁰ The same theme led to one of the most remarkable episodes in Philippe Mousket's chronicle,¹¹¹ an episode which casts important light upon the application of French dynastic principles to the Hohenstaufen.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 926.

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp. 933–34.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 937.

¹⁰⁵ *Historia Regum Francorum*, lines 23311–32, pp. 766–67; *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 27839–50, p. 45 (as the *RHGF* editors note, this description is probably a garbled reference to the coronation of Henry's wife, Margaret of Austria); lines 28070–75, p. 47.

¹⁰⁶ *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 28113–16, p. 47.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., lines 28357–680, pp. 50–53. Henry's deposition is again noted: *ibid.*, lines 30567–68, p. 73.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 31171–74, p. 80.

¹⁰⁹ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 937.

¹¹⁰ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 937.

¹¹¹ Sommerlechner appears to be the first to note this episode: Sommerlechner, pp. 454–55, 545. She also notes Aubri's comments: p. 454, n. 389.

According to Philippe, Henry (VII)'s deposition was a consequence of a deception perpetrated by Frederick's first wife, Constance of Aragon (1183–1222). Constance witnessed the death of her own son shortly after his birth and in order to avoid displeasing Frederick, whom the Empress knew to be desperately desirous of a male heir, she arranged to substitute another baby for the dead child.¹¹² Frederick was completely taken in by this switch, and his son's paternity remained a secret until long after Constance's death and Henry's establishment as King in Germany. When the Emperor became aware of what had happened, by means of Constance's aged confessor, Henry was removed. Philippe made it clear that the Emperor now possessed a legitimate son, Conrad, by Isabella de Brienne, with whom he could be replaced.¹¹³

For Philippe the fact that Henry was not Frederick's son, natural or otherwise, was at the heart of his unsuitability to be king. He informed his audience that even as a boy Henry: 'gros estoit, cors et maufès, / Comme vilains ki porte fès', and that it therefore seemed clear to many that he was not the Emperor's son: 'Et bien disoient li plusior, / Qu'aïnc ne fu fius d'empereor'.¹¹⁴ The details of the story would seem to owe much to Philippe's imagination. If he was drawing upon a source for these events it is one that appears to have left no other tangible traces. Yet it is striking that, for both Aubri and Philippe, Henry (VII)'s deposition could only be made palatable by an argument that he was not a member of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Rebellion against his father was not enough to disenfranchise him: it was necessary to show that Henry was a changeling. Both accounts suggest that Henry's position in the German lands of the Empire was interpreted in the light of the principles applied in France to dynastic succession. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines' phrase 'a tempore quo Franci vel Teuthonici optinuerunt dinastiam imperii',¹¹⁵ employed to introduce a discussion of imperial coronation practices, suggests that Frederick II, in his appeal to the French barons, was right to believe that these same principles were considered applicable not just to the rulership of the German lands but to the Empire itself. The clearest indication that this was the case comes from an account of the death of Conradin.

¹¹² *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 28399–540, pp. 50–52.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, lines 28563–602, p. 52.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, lines 28537–40, p. 52.

¹¹⁵ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 903.

The Lineage of the Eagle

The Dionysian Primat, recounting Conradin's ignominious fate in his Latin chronicle, noted that many believed that if Frederick's grandson had been successful in the *regno* his supporters would have quickly gone on to make him emperor.¹¹⁶ Although Guillaume de Nangis did not choose to include these specific comments in his *Gesta Ludovici*, he did note in his universal chronicle that in the course of his journey south Conradin had been received in Rome following imperial custom.¹¹⁷ Guillaume's comments were retained in the early-fourteenth century by the compilers of Pierre Honoré's *Grandes Chroniques*, who noted that Conradin was *receus en guise imperial* upon his arrival in Rome.¹¹⁸ The question, however, is not whether Conradin was believed to have wished to pursue a claim to the Empire, but whether he was considered to have a right to it.

In speaking of the dynasty that came to an end in the person of Conradin, Primat chose to speak not of the end of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, nor of a Sicilian dynasty, nor even of a dynasty of those who had persecuted the Church. Rather, he spoke of the end of the lineage of the eagle, a phrase translated by Jean de Vignay, in the 1330s, as: 'le lignage de l'aigre [sic] estoit affiné par mort de Corradin'.¹¹⁹ Primat also noted that if Conradin had lived he would have been, in Jean de Vignay's words, *chef du lignage de l'aigle*.¹²⁰ This latter phrase did not appear in the *Gesta Ludovici*, but Guillaume de Nangis did retain Primat's comment concerning the end of the lineage of the eagle.¹²¹

The eagle was the emblem most clearly associated with the Empire in the thirteenth-century northern French milieu. Adenet le Roi (d. 1297), Primat's contemporary, was minstrel first at the court of Brabant, later, from 1270, at the court of Flanders, and finally in the employ of Marie de Brabant, wife of Philippe III. When, around 1275, Adenet sought to depict the *écu* of Charlemagne, he settled upon fleur-de-lys in combination with black eagles, a

¹¹⁶ *Chronique de Primat*, p. 38.

¹¹⁷ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, 1, 234, probably based upon Géraud de Frachet.

¹¹⁸ BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 372^r.

¹¹⁹ *Chronique de Primat*, p. 37.

¹²⁰ *Chronique de Primat*, p. 37.

¹²¹ 'quoniam in Corradini morte fuit ibi genus aquilae terminatum', *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, p. 438.

coat of arms which continued to be attributed to the Carolingian emperor in both France and Germany until the Renaissance.¹²² In his *Philippide* Guillaume le Breton had noted that Philippe Auguste had sent the imperial eagle captured from the Emperor Otto IV at the battle of Bouvines to Frederick.¹²³ Guillaume had also used the capture of the imperial eagle to symbolize Philippe's defeat of Otto in his *Gesta Philippi Augusti*.¹²⁴ Primat was certainly aware of these connotations, as it was Primat himself who had translated Guillaume's *Gesta*, including the phrase relating to the eagle, for the section of his *Roman des rois* recounting Philippe Auguste's reign.¹²⁵

Primat's choice of phrase appears to have been unusual. The near contemporary Italian Ricordano Malispini, for example, spoke of Conradin's death as the end of the house of Swabia, the *Case di Soavia*.¹²⁶ A non-Dionysian French writer to remark upon Conradin's death as the end of a line, Adam de Clermont, chose the much less dramatic phrase that with his death *periit tota progenies Frederici*.¹²⁷ The latter sentiments were similar to those expressed by the author of the *Annales breves Wormatienses* or the Italian Brunetto Latini, both of whom spoke of the end of the lineage of the Emperor Frederick.¹²⁸ Primat's usage can only have been intended to associate the Hohenstaufen with

¹²² Guenée, *L'Occident*, p. 128. We find this combination, for example, in stained glass depicting Charlemagne in the fourteenth-century priory at Lièpvre (the glass itself is no longer extant but its content is known from sixteenth-century descriptions): R. Will, 'Le vitrail de Charlemagne à Lièpvre. Evocation d'une oeuvre d'art disparue du XIV^e siècle', *Cahiers alsaciens d'archéologie, d'art et d'histoire*, 21 (1978), 87–101 (pp. 88–90). Charlemagne was almost certainly included here because the priory was founded under his protection by the abbot of Saint-Denis. In its inclusion of Roland and Olivier, the window provides an excellent example of the blurring of 'history' and 'epic'. On the possible reasons why these two particular heroes of the *Chanson de Roland* were included here: Will, 'Le vitrail de Charlemagne', pp. 90–91.

¹²³ *Philippide*, in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton Historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. by H.-F. Delaborde, 2 vols (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1882–85), II (bk xii, lines 47–49, p. 350). Regarding Guillaume's approach to composing the *Philippide* and the importance of Philippe's victory at Bouvines in the work: Baldwin, pp. 380–83; 386–89.

¹²⁴ Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, p. 285.

¹²⁵ *Grandes Chroniques*, VI, 348.

¹²⁶ *Storia fiorentina*, chap. cc, p. 167.

¹²⁷ *Excerpta E Floribus Historiarum auctore Adamo Claromontensi*, p. 79.

¹²⁸ Sommerlechner, p. 169, 170.

the Empire. The implication was that Conradin, from Primat's perspective, could be considered the last of a specifically 'imperial' dynasty. While Primat's wording re-emerged in Jean de Vignay's translation and echoed in Guillaume's *Gesta*, it is notable that it vanished from other Dionysian projects.¹²⁹ The reason for the omission may lie in an assumption that this 'imperial' dynasty was considered to differ little from other dynasties. In consequence, there may have existed a deep-seated unease with its permanent disinheritance, a sentiment increased by the fact that the party responsible was a Capetian.

An Heir to the Hohenstaufen?

The suggestion that the inhabitants of northern France could consider the Empire to be the patrimony of the Hohenstaufen dynasty seems, at first glance, improbable. The selection of an imperial ruler was, after all, based upon the elective, rather than the hereditary, principle. This system, if not the precise mechanism by which it operated, was well known in France. In the 1240s, Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, for example, referred to Frederick II's election by the German barons.¹³⁰ Writing in the 1280s Guillaume de Nangis noted the election of Rudolf of Habsburg¹³¹ and, in the early-fourteenth century, Jean de Saint-Victor that of Henry VII.¹³² The 1340s Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques* described the establishment of the system by which *I prince seculier esleu par les electeurs d'Alemaigne* was instituted to rule the western Empire.¹³³ Chapter eight will examine French views of the origins of this system and its specific relationship with the imperial office, but for the moment the question to be considered concerns its interpretation at a more immediate and practical level.

There is, firstly, a difficulty in labelling French perceptions of the method used to select an imperial ruler as exclusively 'elective'. This is immediately apparent from Philippe Mousket's rhyming chronicle. Philippe considered Henry (VII)'s legitimacy an important issue not simply because it related to the rule of the German imperial lands but because he believed that Frederick

¹²⁹ Compare with *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, p. 439; *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 159 and vii, 258.

¹³⁰ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 893.

¹³¹ *Gesta Philippi Regis Franciae, filii sanctae memoriae regis Ludovici*, p. 492.

¹³² *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 652.

¹³³ *Grandes Chroniques*, ix, 38.

wished to establish a new custom, that is the hereditary transmission of the Empire.¹³⁴ This should not necessarily be interpreted to mean that Philippe considered Frederick to be engaged in a bold attempt to do away with the elective system. The key to understanding Philippe's view lies in the nature of Frederick's 'new' custom: its 'newness' was a relative one. Frederick was actually trying to re-establish something which had once existed but had not done so for a long time:

Quar lonc tans eut, jel sai de voir,
N'ala l'Empires d'oir en oir,
Jusques à cest empereour [Frederick]¹³⁵

In the wake of the chaos of the Staufer-Welf dispute of the early-thirteenth century, Philippe had seen Frederick seeking to establish a new imperial dynasty in place of: 'Que çou qu'il ont fait par tençon / Et par commune eslection'.¹³⁶ His perspective was by no means unique. An anonymous chronicler writing around the end of Philippe Auguste's reign even knew of, and thought worthy of remark, efforts by Frederick's father, the Emperor Henry VI (d. 1197), to extract an oath from the German barons which would have forced them to recognize Frederick as his successor.¹³⁷ In fact, the idea of re-establishing not simply a ruler of the imperial lands but an imperial dynasty is a frequently encountered subtext in French accounts of Staufer and post-Staufer imperial aspirants. We find it, for example, in the late-thirteenth-century French *vita* of Louis IX's sister, Isabelle de France (d. 1270), written by Agnes d'Harcourt (d.

¹³⁴ *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 28502–08, 28512, p. 51.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, lines 28429–31, p. 51.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, lines 28505–06, p. 51.

¹³⁷ After giving a lengthy list of individual barons and groups attending Frederick's triumphal court at Aachen in 1215, the chronicler notes: 'et l'asseurerent, et fissent homages, auques por la force et auques por le sairement que li auquant d'aus ou li ancissour avoient fait a son pere, qui lor ot fait jurer qu'il seroit emperere après sa mort; et de ce avoit-il lor latres et lor seaus', in 'Fragment de l'Histoire de Philippe-Auguste roy de France', pp. 123–24. Henry's negotiations with the German princes in 1195/96 were aimed at establishing the Hohenstaufen as an hereditary dynasty, although the Emperor eventually compromised and settled for Frederick's election as king of the Romans: T. C. Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen Immutator mundi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 22–23; Abulafia, *Frederick*, p. 83.

c. 1291), abbess of the monastic community Isabelle founded at Longchamp.¹³⁸ Here Isabelle is portrayed as declining a proposed marriage to Frederick II's son, Conrad, a union urged on her by, amongst others, Pope Innocent IV. Implicit in Agnes' account is the idea that Conrad would succeed his father as emperor.¹³⁹ That the subtext is not apparent in accounts of Heinrich Raspe's and William of Holland's reigns, but only appears after the death of Conradin, may be a further reflection of a deep-seated unease with the disinheritance of the Hohenstaufen.

Henry d'Alemagne, son of Richard of Cornwall, was a fleeting figure on the French page, but one point about him aroused particular interest. The aftermath of the 1270 crusade saw Philippe III, Charles d'Anjou, and Henry, the latter returning to England via Gascony on his cousin Edward's instructions, arrive at Viterbo in the spring of 1271. On the 13 March Philippe wrote to Richard to inform him of the events that were to so excite the interest of French chroniclers: earlier that day, Simon and Gui de Montfort had burst

¹³⁸ Concerning Isabelle's life and Agnes' career: *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt: The Life of Isabelle of France and the Letter on Louis IX and Longchamp*, ed. and trans. by S. L. Field (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), pp. 2–8, and a most welcome new study, although one which unfortunately appeared too late for me to take full advantage of it here, S. L. Field, *Isabelle of France: Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006). Concerning the possibility that Isabelle's *vita* may have been written originally in Latin: C. N. Jones, 'Review: *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt: The 'Life of Isabelle of France' and the 'Letter on Louis IX and Longchamp'*', ed. and trans. by Sean L. Field (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003)', *Comitatus*, 36 (2005), 315–18 (p. 17).

¹³⁹ 'Elle fu juree de ses amis a prendre a mariage au flux de l'empereur de Romme qui devoit estre her de l'Empire', *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt*, ed. and trans. by Field, p. 54. Field chose to translate 'her' as 'heir': *ibid.*, p. 55. He may be justified in doing so as, working in the seventeenth century, Du Cange transcribed this as 'heritier'. Unfortunately no medieval manuscripts survive of this text and we are dependent wholly on later transcriptions. The manuscript used by Du Cange in preparing his transcription was, as Field convincingly demonstrates, certainly of a later date than the manuscript used to prepare the transcription Field employs as the base text for his edition: *ibid.*, pp. 29–33. It would be unwise to draw any firm conclusions, but it may at least be suggested that 'her' might be better translated as 'master' or 'lord' rather than 'heir': A. J. Greimas, *Dictionnaire de l'ancien français*, new edn (Paris: Larousse, 2001), p. 310. This would, however, still be strong evidence that Conrad was expected to succeed his father as ruler of the Empire. For the negotiations surrounding the proposed marriage: Field, pp. 27–31.

into a church in which Henry had been hearing Mass and stabbed him to death, claiming it as revenge for the death of their father at the battle of Evesham.¹⁴⁰

An examination of the late-thirteenth-century Dionysian accounts reveals one of the possible motives which led to an interest in Henry's death. Following Primat, Henry had journeyed to Viterbo with the intention of convincing a new pope to grant him *le royaume d'Allemagne, que son père avoit poursuis*.¹⁴¹ This explanation of Henry's presence in Viterbo ignored his participation in the aborted crusade of 1270. It was almost certainly offered, in conjunction with Primat's very definite statement that Henry arrived before Philippe,¹⁴² with the intention of physically distancing the Capetians from Henry and thereby also distancing them from even the slightest insinuation of involvement in the murder. At the same time, it was a distinctly peculiar explanation for Henry's presence, not only because there was a papal vacancy, Gregory X not being elected until March 1272, but also because Richard was not only alive and well in spring 1271 but himself still laying claim to the German kingship, something he would continue to do until his death on 2 April 1272. Primat, writing in the mid-1270s, would surely have been aware of all these points. The approach of Primat's fellow Dionysian, Guillaume de Nangis, suggests that Primat may have chosen to offer this particular explanation for a specific reason.

Guillaume de Nangis took up Primat's explanation of Henry's journey in both his *Gesta Philippi*¹⁴³ and his universal chronicle.¹⁴⁴ However, he expanded upon the original account by strengthening the connection between Henry and the German kingdom. Whereas Primat had termed Henry simply *filz du conte Richart*,¹⁴⁵ Guillaume altered this passage, first to note that Henry had been the son of *quondam regis Alemanniae*¹⁴⁶ and then, in the 1290s, when writing his universal chronicle, to describe Henry as *dictus de Alemannia, filius Richardi*

¹⁴⁰ Denholm-Young, pp. 150–51.

¹⁴¹ *Chronique de Primat*, p. 86. In the sole extant manuscript of Primat's work, mediated by Jean de Vignay, 'd'Allemagne' reads 'd'Engleterre'. While this reading can be corrected from Guillaume de Nangis's Latin version, it may indicate a degree of confusion on Jean de Vignay's part when he came to translate the passage.

¹⁴² *Chronique de Primat*, p. 86. Cf. Bernard Gui's *Flores chronicorum* and *Reges francorum* in *Flores chronicorum*, p. 701.

¹⁴³ *Gesta Philippi Regis Franciae, filii sanctae memoriae regis Ludovici*, p. 484.

¹⁴⁴ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 241.

¹⁴⁵ *Chronique de Primat*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁶ *Gesta Philippi Regis Franciae, filii sanctae memoriae regis Ludovici*, p. 484.

regis Alemanniae defuncti.¹⁴⁷ Primat differed from Guillaume in that he made no mention of Richard's candidature or his German kingship anywhere in his chronicle. His reasons were probably two-fold. Although a firm supporter of Charles d'Anjou, Primat appears to have been acutely aware of Conradin's claims on his imperial 'inheritance'. That Conradin had been very much alive at the time of Richard's election may account, to some extent, for his silence. More fundamentally, unlike many later writers, Primat displayed little interest in emphasizing that the King of Castile had *not* acquired the German kingship. While the La Cerda dispute was very much an unresolved issue at the time he wrote, there is little in his chronicle to indicate the overt hostility towards Alfonso X apparent in later Dionysians works. Primat would even remark upon the presence of Castilians in the army that took part in Louis IX's 1270 crusade, comments, as Natalis de Wailly noted, later omitted by Guillaume de Nangis.¹⁴⁸ Highlighting the fact that it had been Richard who had succeeded to the German kingship almost certainly had much to do with the La Cerda affair for Guillaume de Nangis, but in choosing to add emphasis to the point when relating the murder of Richard's son his intention appears to have been to build upon an idea embryonic in Primat's account. That idea was that Henry's claim to the German kingdom was based upon the principle of heredity.

That Guillaume's purpose was deliberately to cast Henry as Richard's heir to the German kingdom is an interpretation strengthened by two aspects of the approach he adopted towards Henry in his universal chronicle. One is the striking parallel drawn between the English king and his son, on the one hand, and Richard, *rex Alemanniae*, and Henry on the other. The battle of Lewes (14 May 1264) saw the capture of both *regem Henricum ac Eduardum* and *regem Richardum et Henricum*.¹⁴⁹ Henry, then, was placed on the same plane as his cousin. Was not he too to be seen as the heir to a kingdom? More striking still, however, was Guillaume's extraordinary decision to pre-date Richard's death to 1268,¹⁵⁰ a chronological quirk which enabled Henry's visit to Viterbo to be seen in a very distinctive light. It was now clear that Henry was not simply seeking a kingdom upon which his father had had a claim: he was seeking his inheritance. Guillaume's intention, and most probably Primat's, was to imply that Richard

¹⁴⁷ *Chronique latine*, 1, 241.

¹⁴⁸ *Chronique de Primat*, p. 47.

¹⁴⁹ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, 1, 225.

¹⁵⁰ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, 1, 235.

had possessed rights over the German kingdom which had passed from father to son. From this perspective the emphasis placed upon Henry's reasons for going to Viterbo might be regarded as more than simply the backdrop to the relation of a sensational episode: Henry's murder might be seen to represent the failure of the first post-Staufer imperial dynasty to become established. The Dionysians may have regarded it as a failure which contrasted strongly with, and thereby highlighted, the dynastic success of the Capetians, one of the signs of the particular favour bestowed upon the French kingdom.

Those beyond the Saint-Denis scriptorium, less driven by the Capetian agenda of Primat and Guillaume de Nangis, did not draw the connection between Henry and the Empire with the same Dionysian deftness. Yet the continued interest shown in the event and the frequent description of Henry in terms of being the son of the King of Germany may indicate that the perception of Henry as Richard's successor was a common subtext in many accounts, whether they were written in Normandy,¹⁵¹ Limoges,¹⁵² or the Languedoc.¹⁵³ Although Henry's death continued to elicit occasional interest the popularity of the episode appears to have waned: the compiler of Pierre Honoré's *Grandes Chroniques* chose, for example, to omit any account of Henry's murder even though it was present in Guillaume de Nangis's universal chronicle. By the mid-fourteenth century even the Dionysian scriptorium seems to have taken less interest in the topic: Henry's reasons for going to Viterbo disappeared from the 1340s *Grandes Chroniques*.¹⁵⁴ This decline in interest may be the consequence of the new dynastic issues raised by first the Habsburgs at the end of the thirteenth century and later by the house of Luxembourg.

Arranged at Quatrevaux in 1299, the marriage of Albrecht of Habsburg's son, Rudolf, to Philippe IV's sister, Blanche, offered the opportunity for the establishment of a new dynasty in the Empire, a point highlighted by Pierre

¹⁵¹ *E Chronico Normanniae* p. 211; *E Chronico Rotomagensi*, p. 341; *E Chronico sanctae Catharinae de Monte Rotomagi*, p. 405.

¹⁵² *Ex notis S. Martini Lemovicensibus*, p. 438; *Anonymum S. Martialis Chronicon ab anno M. CC. VII. ad ann. M. CCC. XX.*, p. 132. The latter listed *Enricus, rex Alamannie* amongst Simon de Montfort's captives.

¹⁵³ *Guillaume de Puylaurens. Chronique 1145-1275*, p. 210; *Abbreviatione Historiae Figuralis*, p. 217; Bernard Gui's *Flores chronicorum* and *Reges francorum* in *Flores chronicorum*, p. 701.

¹⁵⁴ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 31–32.

Dubois writing in 1300.¹⁵⁵ Writing before the late-1320s, Jean de Saint-Victor would suggest that French agreement to the marriage had required the consent of the German princes to the principle that the heirs of Rudolf and Blanche would inherit the German kingdom.¹⁵⁶ For a few brief years, prior to the Boniface VIII crisis and the death of Blanche and her child (1305), this marriage offered the possibility of the creation of a new imperial dynasty linked to the Capetians themselves. Both Guillaume de Nangis's *Gesta Philippi* and his universal chronicle were written in a period of relatively good relations between the Habsburgs and the Capetians, after the collapse of Marguerite de Provence's attempts to involve Rudolf in a plan to loosen Charles d'Anjou's grip on Provence and before the Bonifacian debacle. Anticipation of a new Habsburg-Capetian imperial dynasty may account, to some extent at least, for Guillaume's decision to censor Albrecht's father's more strained relations with Philippe III and possibly even Philippe's 1273 imperial candidature, omissions carried forward into accounts that made use of his work.

In the years before the emergence of the Valois-Luxembourg alliance of the 1330s, some French writers appear to have clung with tenacity to the idea that the Habsburgs possessed rights to the Empire. Of particular note is the only extant version of the metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris, a text 'edited' in the Parisian milieu as part of a *Roman de Fauvel* compilation by men closely connected with the royal government. This settled upon Albrecht of Habsburg's second son, Friedrich der Schöne, 'King of Austria', as the legitimate successor to the Luxembourg Emperor Henry VII:

En cel an fu en Alemaingne
Un roy nouviau, qui que s'em plaingne,
Et ce fu le roy d'Otheriche,
Qui n'estoit ne aver ne chiche.
De touz fu la chose ordenee
Qu'a lui la coronne donnee
Seroit et qu'il en fu seingnor.¹⁵⁷

This passage was probably an example of the sort of censorship and alteration that Dunbabin has suggested the compilers applied to the original text of the

¹⁵⁵ *Summaria brevis*, p. 19.

¹⁵⁶ 'Ob hoc enim matrimonium facta est amicabile confoederatio Alemannorum cum Francis, paresque Alemanniae, ut dicitur, consenserunt ad heredes ipsorum de cetero regnum Alemanniae pervenire', *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 635.

¹⁵⁷ *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, lines 5771–77, p. 200.

metrical chronicle.¹⁵⁸ The wording as it appears in the *Fauvel* compilation is peculiar: Austria was, after all, a duchy rather than a kingdom. If the original author had, however, intended to speak of Henry VII's son succeeding him the word 'Bohemia' need only be substituted for *Otheriche* and much more sense is made of this passage and the subsequent description of Henry's successor as: 'Neïs le filz l'empereor / Qui mort estoit'.¹⁵⁹ The Emperor referred to in line 5778 was almost certainly intended, by the original author, to be Henry VII, an important figure in the metrical chronicle, rather than Albrecht, who does not otherwise appear and was never, in any case, actually crowned emperor. The insertion of Friedrich's 'succession' into the new text serves to highlight a continuing attachment to the idea of the Habsburgs as the 'imperial' dynasty in circles associated with the court.

A similar perception of the Habsburgs may have led Jean de Saint-Victor to consider Adolf of Nassau a usurper, one whose election had 'interrupted' the establishment of the Habsburg succession by temporarily displacing Albrecht. Jean's *Memoriale historiarum* made no mention of Adolf. This omission is particularly notable as Jean made use of Guillaume de Nangis's universal chronicle and followed it attentively from 1285 up until 1294/95.¹⁶⁰ In addition, the second version of Jean's introductory treatise artificially prolonged Albrecht's reign to thirteen years,¹⁶¹ possibly with the intention of implying that the Habsburg rule of the German imperial lands had been uninterrupted since the accession of Rudolf in 1273.¹⁶²

Belief that the Habsburgs possessed a right to succeed in the Empire was not a sentiment that long outlived the emergence of the Valois-Luxembourg alliance. The Dionysians, possibly as a consequence of their close relations with the court, appear to have taken particular pains to discredit the Austrian

¹⁵⁸ Dunbabin, 'Metrical Chronicle', p. 238.

¹⁵⁹ *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, lines 5778–79, p. 200

¹⁶⁰ Concerning Jean's use of the resources of Saint-Denis and of Guillaume's work in particular: I. Guyot-Bachy, *Le 'Memoriale historiarum' de Jean de Saint-Victor. Un historien et sa communauté au début du XIV^e siècle*, Bibliotheca Victorina, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 193–96.

¹⁶¹ M. Schmidt-Chazan, 'L'Idée d'empire dans le *Memoriale historiarum* de Jean de Saint-Victor', in *L'Historiographie médiévale en Europe. Actes du colloque organisé par la Fondation Européenne de la Science au Centre de Recherches Historiques et Juridiques de l'Université Paris I du 29 mars au 1^{er} avril 1989*, ed. by J.-P. Genet (Paris: CNRS, 1991), pp. 301–19 (p. 302, n. 6).

¹⁶² *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), 236.

dynasty. Suspicion of the Habsburgs was doubtless fanned by the oft-repeated rumours that Blanche and her child had been poisoned.¹⁶³ The 1340s Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques* added fuel to this rumour by declaring that Duke Rudolf himself had carried out the deed.¹⁶⁴ The compilers also appear to have sought to suggest, by weaving an account of Albrecht's father's support for Conradin into their 'translation' of the *Gesta Ludovici*, that, from the very beginning, the dynasty had been notorious enemies of the Capetians.¹⁶⁵ In this inserted episode the elder Rudolf, described as *I des plus nobles hommes d'Alemaigne* but also *un des plus granz anemis le roy* (Charles d'Anjou), had been captured after taking part in the battle of Tagliacozzo but escaped with the assistance of a traitor.¹⁶⁶ The vilification of the Habsburgs was contemporaneous with the emergence of a portrait of John of Bohemia which depicted him as heir, not only to Henry's county of Luxembourg, but also to his father's imperial claims. It was as Henry's son, not Ludwig of Bavaria's ally, that he was welcomed into Italy: so pleased were the Italian Ghibellines when they knew him to be *Henrici Pii imperatoris ultimo defuncti filium*, that they threw off their loyalty to Ludwig and submitted to John.¹⁶⁷ There seems little room in these approaches to imperial succession for an elective principle, yet French writers were not only aware of the elective system, but also of the inhabitants of the Empire's attachment to it.

Electing a Dynasty

Jean de Saint-Victor, when discussing the aftermath of the death of Henry VII, noted that John of Bohemia was elected to the German kingdom because it did not seem that the latter ought to be treated as descending by hereditary right: 'Filius autem suus ad regnum Alemanniae fuisset electus quia valens, nisi

¹⁶³ Second Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 346; *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 644; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 25.

¹⁶⁴ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 243.

¹⁶⁵ Compare with Redlich, p. 747.

¹⁶⁶ *Grandes Chroniques*, VII, 257. This episode is wholly fictitious. Rudolf had in fact accompanied Conradin in his initial descent into Italy but had left the army in January at Verona: Léonard, p. 66.

¹⁶⁷ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 123. Also: *Chronique de Richard Lescot*, p. 24; *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 122.

videretur quod per successionem Imperium tractaretur'.¹⁶⁸ As Pierre Dubois, well aware of the imperial electors' attachment to their rights,¹⁶⁹ took pains to point out, this attitude was clearly mistaken: the elective system was precisely what was wrong with the Empire because it led to instability and strife, which, in turn, delayed goals such as the recovery of the Holy Land.¹⁷⁰ Was the French approach, then, to recognize the existence of the elective system but to believe, simply, that it ought to be replaced? On one level this is certainly true and reflects a longstanding belief in the superiority of hereditary kingship. Matthew Paris caught the spirit, if not the precise words, when he stated that Louis IX's nuncios rejected the papal offer of the imperial throne to Robert I d'Artois on the grounds that to be the King of France, *quem linea regii sanguinis provexit*, was more excellent than to be an emperor, *quem sola provehit electio voluntaria*, and that it would suffice for Robert to be the brother of such a king.¹⁷¹ Yet on another level election was viewed as fundamentally important in France.

When the Parisian *atelier* of Thomas de Maubeuge came to draft Pierre Honoré's *Grandes Chroniques* they prefaced a detailed *table des matières* with a short index specific to Pierre's manuscript.¹⁷² On the left of each page of this index was given a list of numbers corresponding to a system of pagination applied to the manuscript as a whole.¹⁷³ To the right of these numbers were placed a series of intermittent and brief notes. The intention appears to have been to produce an easy-to-use guide to events considered important. One of the themes accorded greatest prominence by the compilers was the idea that three distinct, albeit, following Primat, connected dynasties, had succeeded to the French throne. This idea was incorporated into the very structure of Pierre's

¹⁶⁸ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 658.

¹⁶⁹ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 13, pp. 12–13; *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, p. 209.

¹⁷⁰ 'Quoniam vero mutatio successionis Imperii guerrarum occasiones infinitas in Alemannia prestare consuevit, obstante solita imperatoris electione, que propter solitas discordias recuperationem et conservationem Terre Sancte impedire consuevit', *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 13, p. 12.

¹⁷¹ *Chronica majora*, III, 626–27.

¹⁷² BnF, fr. 10132, fol. 1^r–6^r. This follows on directly from a note giving details of the manuscript's production.

¹⁷³ The manuscript has been cut down and some of these numbers have disappeared but many remain visible or partially visible in the top right hand corners of the folios.

Grandes Chroniques in the system of pagination adopted.¹⁷⁴ The majority of notes included in the index were written in black ink, but a small number were written in red. These rubricated events were confined, essentially, to marking the point at which a new dynasty succeeded, first the Carolingians and later the Capetians. If Pierre should have been curious to know the origins of the latter dynasty, he would have found the relevant page in his index beside the note: 'De hue chapet qui fu fet par election...'.¹⁷⁵ The idea was not an isolated one. It is to be found in the second of the king-lists inserted into a royal register during the latter part of Philippe Auguste's reign.¹⁷⁶ A century later visitors to the Grand'salle of the Palais de la Cité, the most visible statement of French dynastic continuity, would have encountered two instances of election. Amongst the plaques used to label the statues of the Kings of France they would have found the note that Pepin, although *de la lignée de Clotaire second*, like Hugues Capet, *fut esleu Roy*.¹⁷⁷ Here, then, is the kernel of the French perception of election: it was the mechanism by which a dynasty was founded.

There is strong evidence to suggest that a late-thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century French conception of the role of an elective mechanism in the selection of a French dynasty was superimposed upon the Empire. Jean de Saint-Victor noted that the election of Henry VII was made by *paribus Alamanniae*.¹⁷⁸ Jean chose these words with care: when discussing the election of Henry VI he had outlined a system in which twelve peers of the Empire

¹⁷⁴ Each folio was given an individual number and a second number, either 'I', 'II', or 'III'. 'II' appears for the first time at the accession of Pepin (BnF, fr. 10132, fol. 128^r). At the accession of Hugues Capet the number is unclear but within a few folios had changed from 'II' to 'III' (fol. 258^r). This system was clearly intended to denote the three dynasties, an interpretation supported by the fact that the individual pagination recommenced from 'I' in both the index and on the individual folios with each change of 'dynastic' number. In case this system was not entirely clear, however, the scribe took the trouble to explain it at the beginning of the index. Concerning the structure of this index and the origins of the tripartite division: Hedeman, p. 37.

¹⁷⁵ BnF, fr. 10132, fol. 4^r.

¹⁷⁶ 'Hugo Chapetus, electus a baronibus', ed. from Register C by Brown, 'La notion de la légitimité', appendix 1, p. 104.

¹⁷⁷ Cited from: Bennert, 'Art et propagande', appendix, p. 59.

¹⁷⁸ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 654.

selected the ruler.¹⁷⁹ As Mireille Chazan has noted, this idea of imperial 'peers', which had no bearing upon reality, was one clearly drawn from a French milieu.¹⁸⁰

From Philippe Auguste's reign, the 'peers of France', a literary invention with its foundations in the *chansons de geste* of Charlemagne, had acquired increasing prominence in French thought.¹⁸¹ This prominence was exemplified by the growing perception in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that the peers had a judicial function¹⁸² and the development of a role for them in the coronation ceremony. While they first played a part in the actual ceremony in either 1223 or 1226,¹⁸³ the first evidence that they were attributed a role comes from the early-thirteenth-century coronation *ordo* of Reims. In an *ordo* probably produced for the bishop of Châlons¹⁸⁴ in the mid-thirteenth century,¹⁸⁵ as in the earlier *ordo* of Reims,¹⁸⁶ the peers were described as

¹⁷⁹ Schmidt-Chazan, 'L'Idée d'empire dans le *Memoriale historiarum*', p. 311; Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 627–28. The relevant section of the *Memoriale* is edited: Chazan, *L'Empire* p. 628, n. 212.

¹⁸⁰ Schmidt-Chazan, 'L'Idée d'empire dans le *Memoriale historiarum*', p. 311. Jean modified an idea formulated by Roger of Hovedon: Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 627.

¹⁸¹ F. Lot, 'Quelques mots sur l'origine des pairs de France', *RH*, 104 (1894), 34–59 (pp. 50–51); Schramm, I, 171–76.

¹⁸² F. Funck-Brentano, 'Les pairs de France à la fin du XIII^e siècle', in *Études d'histoire du Moyen Âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod* (Paris: Cerf, 1896; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1975), pp. 351–60; M. Boulet-Sautel, 'Le rôle juridictionnel de la cour des pairs aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles', in *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel par ses amis, collègues et élèves*, 2 vols (Paris: Société de l'École des Chartes, 1955), II, 507–20. G. de Manteyer, 'L'Origine des douze pairs de France', in *Études d'histoire du Moyen Âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod* (Paris: Cerf, 1896; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1975), pp. 187–200, is heavily marked by the erroneous belief that the peers of France were an ancient institution and not a literary invention.

¹⁸³ Le Goff, 'Coronation Program for the Age of Saint Louis', p. 49.

¹⁸⁴ J.-C. Bonne, 'The Manuscript of the Ordo of 1250 and its Illuminations', in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. by J. M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 58–71 (p. 58).

¹⁸⁵ For the argument that the *ordo* dates, very probably, from the latter part of Louis IX's reign: J. Le Goff, 'La structure et le contenu idéologique de la cérémonie du sacre', in *Le sacre royal à l'époque de Saint Louis*, ed. by J.-C. Schmitt and F. Lissarrague (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), pp. 19–35 (pp. 34–35).

¹⁸⁶ Concerning the relationship between the two *ordos*: É. Palazzo, 'La liturgie du sacre', in *Le sacre royal à l'époque de Saint Louis*, ed. by J.-C. Schmitt and F. Lissarrague (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), pp. 37–89 (pp. 40–41).

supporting the crown immediately after it had been placed upon the head of the King by the Archbishop of Reims: 'Qua imposita, omnes pares tam clerici quam laici manum apponunt corone et eam undique sustentant'.¹⁸⁷ Although neither *ordo* was actually employed in a coronation ceremony, both texts are important because they outline what were considered to be the necessary components of such a ceremony. The Châlons *ordo* is of particular note because it was translated into French at the end of the thirteenth century and thus made available to a lay audience.¹⁸⁸

Two factors could have led to the involvement of the peers being interpreted rather differently from the original intentions of the author of either *ordo*. Firstly, the layout of the Châlons *ordo*'s illuminations gave particular prominence to the 'coronation' by the peers: the act featured in a quarter of a full-page illumination accompanying the relevant text,¹⁸⁹ whereas the archiepiscopal coronation appeared several folios later and was confined to an initial.¹⁹⁰ A second significant point is that the coronation ceremony was an essentially visual event and neither *ordo* envisioned explanatory speech to accompany this particular act. These factors could have led to the interpretation, by those 'reading' the illuminations of the Châlons text or who were witness to the ceremony itself, that the peers participated in the bestowal of royal authority or at least acted to confirm it. While such an interpretation would have been doubtless anathema to the Capetian-Valois kings, it seems reasonable to question whether the ritual would have been interpreted by all contemporaries with the clarity of Jacques Le Goff, who viewed the inclusion of the peers as clearly the participation and submission of the great feudal lords to royal power.¹⁹¹ Indeed, the magnates who participated in the ceremony and the audience in front of whom it was performed may have understood the

¹⁸⁷ 'Texte latin et traduction française du manuscrit latin 1246 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France', ed. and trans. by M. Goullet in *Le sacre royal à l'époque de Saint Louis*, ed. by J.-C. Schmitt and F. Lissarrague (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), pp. 257–98 (p. 281). For a similar wording: 'Texte latin et traduction française de l'*ordo* de l'ordinaire de Reims', ed. and trans. by U. Chevalier in *Le sacre royal à l'époque de Saint Louis*, ed. by J.-C. Schmitt and F. Lissarrague (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), pp. 299–309 (p. 305).

¹⁸⁸ The translation is noted by Le Goff, 'Coronation Program for the Age of Saint Louis', p. 56, n. 2.

¹⁸⁹ *Le sacre royal à l'époque de Saint Louis*, plate 9.

¹⁹⁰ *Le sacre royal à l'époque de Saint Louis*, plate 13.

¹⁹¹ Le Goff, 'La structure et le contenu idéologique', p. 23.

significance of this ritual in very different terms.¹⁹² The prominence accorded in the first illumination in the Châlons manuscript to the ecclesiastical peers, who dominated the image leaving room for only one lay peer, is particularly striking and may even indicate an intentionally misleading subtext designed to emphasize the important role played by the Church — and, perhaps, by one peer in particular, the bishop of Châlons — in the creation of a new king.¹⁹³

While Capetian dynastic success assigned to the peers a largely symbolic role, the minstrel of Reims's account of the decisive part they played in the 'selection' of Louis VII, whom the minstrel erroneously believed to be a younger son,¹⁹⁴ suggests that they became conceived of as the appropriate regulators of matters of succession if necessity should arise. They appear to play a similar role in Geoffroi de Collon's universal chronicle, where the princes and peers of Gaul chose the King of the Franks, Pharamond, to become, in addition, King of the Gauls.¹⁹⁵ The development of such ideas in France and their application to the western Empire was probably fuelled by the foundation of an hereditary dynasty in the conquered Greek empire. The dynasty's founder, the Count of Flanders,

¹⁹² That rituals could be understood in quite different terms by their various participants and witnesses has been highlighted recently by Björn Weiler in a thought-provoking study of thirteenth-century ceremonies of knighting and homage involving the Plantagenets, the Scots, and Alfonso X of Castile: B. Weiler, 'Knighting, Homage, and the Meaning of Ritual: The Kings of England and their Neighbors in the Thirteenth Century', *Viator*, 37 (2006), 275–99.

¹⁹³ For further reflections on the predominant role of the clergy in this image: J.-C. Bonne, 'Images du sacre', in *Le sacre royal à l'époque de Saint Louis*, ed. by J.-C. Schmitt and F. Lissarrague (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), pp. 91–226 (p. 176).

¹⁹⁴ 'Si avint que li rois leur peres mourut [. . .] et s'assemblerent li per et li baron de France pour faire roi de l'ainsnei frere [Robert]; mais il i ot un des pers qui mout estoit sages et creuz qui dist [. . .]'. The peer argues that Louis [VII] is wiser than his older [sic] brother Robert and that the former would be a more appropriate king: 'Ainsi s'acorderent tuit au mainsnei [Louis], et fu sacreiz à Rains à roi [. . .]', *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. i, pp. 2–3. Robert, the chronicler informs his audience in concluding this highly fictionalized account, was made Count of Dreux, 'qui bien s'en tint à païé; car il ne savoit que ce montoit'.

¹⁹⁵ 'Videntes principes et pares Galliarum sapientiam et fortitudinem Francorum, ipsos Francos absolutos et liberos a tributo, semetipsos sub Faramundo, suas possessiones ab ipso recipiendo, illique homagium tanquam regi et domino fatiendo, suo domino submiserunt, et ipsum, quia iam rex Francorum erat, regem suum concorditer elegerunt', *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 186. The 'dukes and peers' of the Gauls also play a part in establishing Clodion, Pharamond's successor: *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 186.

Baudouin IX (d. c. 1205), described himself to Innocent III as having been elected by twelve 'peers'. Baudouin's letter became well known in France: it was cited by Aubri de Trois-Fontaines and Vincent de Beauvais,¹⁹⁶ the latter's *Speculum historiale* an important source for the second recension of Jean de Saint-Victor's *Memoriale historiarum*.¹⁹⁷ Primat's *Roman des rois* referred to *li François eslurent le conte Baudoin* by the counsel of the Duke of Venice, princes, clergy, and people, *et par l'assentement des barons de l'empire*.¹⁹⁸

It may be suggested that, from the perspective of northern France, what was supposed to happen in the Empire was an election by 'peers' which would 're-establish' an hereditary imperial dynasty. Election was not thought to be unique to the Empire; it was a system fundamental to the proper exercise of temporal authority.¹⁹⁹ The frequency of imperial elections was simply a consequence of the failure of any one dynasty to become properly established. This occurred either because, like the nascent Plantagenet dynasty, they died out, or, like the Habsburgs, and to some extent Adolf's one man dynasty, because their fortunes declined when they turned against the Capetians.

The prolonged absence of an emperor from the European stage and the disappearance of effective imperial rule in the form it had been practised by the Hohenstaufen certainly did not exorcise imperial rulers from French thought. Frederick II, for example, was a figure equally, if not more, important in France at the beginning of the fourteenth century as at the time of his death. Interest in imperial rulers arose from, and was defined by, contemporary concerns, such as promoting the sanctity of Louis IX, by broader concerns, such as the promotion of Capetian-Valois legitimacy or the authentication of relics, and by more fundamental ideas concerning how the world was perceived to be structured.

¹⁹⁶ Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 476–78.

¹⁹⁷ Jean de Saint-Victor. *Traité de la division des royaumes. Introduction à une histoire universelle* ed. by I. Guyot-Bachy and D. Poirel, *Sous la Règle de saint Augustin*, 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 14–15.

¹⁹⁸ *Grandes Chroniques*, vi, 268. Cf. Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, i, 123.

¹⁹⁹ It is worth remarking that the scholar — and adviser to Charles V — Nicole Oresme (d. 1382), writing in the 1370s, suggested that the best system of government was initial election followed by hereditary succession governed by customary rules: Dunbabin, 'Government', p. 497. Although, as Dunbabin notes, Nicole was writing to justify the Valois succession this idea may reflect much older traditions in French thought. One earlier proponent of the idea, in a work prepared for Philippe IV, was Giles of Rome: Black, p. 147.

Northern French conceptions of rulership as an institution inextricably linked with dynastic inheritance, and in particular an understanding of the mechanisms by which the succession of dynasties were governed, were superimposed upon the contemporary Empire and its ruler. Both were defined and considered in the light of French practices.

For the inhabitants of northern France, the Empire became, on one level at least, a distorted reflection of the French kingdom. By following the fortunes of imperial rulers and would-be rulers French writers were charting efforts to re-establish the world as it *ought* to be ordered. The consistent failure of any new dynasty to establish itself in the Empire contrasted markedly with Capetian dynastic success in France. This latter success was in no way altered by the accession of the first Valois kings, who, from a Valois perspective, represented a continuation of the Capetian dynasty rather than any dynastic rupture. In consequence, in recounting imperial succession French writers were simultaneously witnessing a salutary reminder, of particular importance to those closely associated with French kings, of the divine favour bestowed upon the French kingdom. Yet if principles of dynastic inheritance could be applied to the Empire, does this mean that the Empire was not considered to differ from a kingdom or, indeed, other forms of 'inheritance'? This elicits the further, interconnected, question of whether the emperor himself was considered in France to be little more than a king or whether he was thought to possess a unique role in a properly ordered Christian society.

DOMINUS MUNDI?

On the day of his imperial coronation in Rome the Emperor Henry VII addressed an encyclical letter to the bishops and rulers of Christendom in which he declared that all men and all kingdoms ought to be subject to the Roman Empire.¹ While a theory of supreme temporal authority had underpinned the ideology of Frederick II, such a strident challenge to the independent self-government of the western kingdoms had not issued from the imperial court since Frederick Barbarossa's chancellor, Rainald von Dassel, had, at the Diet of Dole in 1162, declared all other kings to be mere *provinciarum reges*.² The circumstances in which Henry formulated such an exalted view of his new office remain unclear. There is little to indicate that the Count of Luxembourg entered upon his *Romzug* with such precise conceptions. It seems probable that this particular idea was the product of Ghibelline and other enthusiastic pro-imperialist influences. The most prominent of those to proffer such an elevated view of imperial authority to the emperor-elect as he journeyed through northern Italy was the exiled Florentine, Dante Alighieri.³ What is clear, however, is that Henry's letter was not well received.

The imperial encyclical elicited a frank reply from Philippe le Bel. Citing Henry's claims, Philippe responded that the kingdom of France had neither had, nor recognized, a superior in temporal matters since the time of Christ no

¹ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 801, pp. 801–04 (29 June 1312, Rome). Also: MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 802, pp. 804–05; no. 803, pp. 805–06.

² Folz, *L'Idée d'Empire*, p. 122. Henry's intentions almost certainly differed from Rainald's: K. F. Werner, 'Das hochmittelalterliche Imperium im politischen Bewußtsein Frankreichs (10.–12. Jahrhundert)', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 200 (1965), 1–60.

³ Dante Alighieri, Letter VII to the Emperor Henry VII, ed. by E. Pistelli, in *Le Opere di Dante. Testo critico della Società Dantesca Italiana*, ed. by M. Barbi and others, 2nd edn (Florence: Società Dantesca Italiana, 1960), pp. 394–97.

matter who the reigning emperor might have been. The King went on to note the great surprise elicited by Henry's decision to send a copy of his encyclical to the city of Lyon. The Emperor had addressed the citizens as if they were imperial vassals, yet the latter 'semper fuerunt notorie in et de regno Francie et prestante Domino sunt et erunt.'⁴

Philippe's reply to Henry's encyclical highlighted two issues of immediate relevance in the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century which led certain of the inhabitants of northern France to analyze the nature and the extent of imperial overlordship. The first, which elicited a dismissive response from Philippe and is the subject of this chapter, concerned whether the king of France, specifically, was subject to imperial authority and whether the kingdom of France, in particular, was part of, or subject to, the Empire. The second topic, on which Philippe offered his view in the case of the citizens of Lyon, and which will be considered in the following chapter, concerned the precise western limits of imperial jurisdiction, that is the material extent of the emperor's authority in regions of the Empire adjacent to the Capetian-Valois kingdom. It is through the responses elicited by these two issues that northern French views of the claims of Henry VII, and of the nature of the Empire as an institution, can be properly understood.

The Jurists — Imperial Authority as a Legal Technicality

The question of whether kings were or should be subject to the emperor was debated energetically in the early-fourteenth century. This debate was, however, largely confined to southern Italy and the papal court. It arose out of Henry VII's attempts to depose Robert d'Anjou from his Sicilian crown and the Emperor's judgement that his opponent was guilty of treason and should be condemned to death. Henry's supporters, and particularly his lawyers, argued that, as emperor, Henry had every right to do this; Robert's own lawyers and those of Pope Clement V vigorously denied it.⁵ Neither side seems to have garnered active partisans in Capetian, or later Valois, France. In fact, both be-

⁴ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 811, p. 813 (July/August 1312).

⁵ K. Pennington, 'Henry VII and Robert of Naples', in *Das Publikum politischer Theorie im 14. Jahrhundert*, ed. by J. Miethke, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs Kolloquien 21 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992), pp. 81–92. Concerning the Neapolitan jurists' development of a theory that denied the universal sovereignty of the emperor: Canning, 'Ideas of the State', pp. 4–7.

fore and after the Luxembourg-Angevin dispute, Philippe IV's reply to Henry's coronation encyclical appears to have remained the only text produced in northern France to be composed primarily with the intention of addressing the question of the relationship between emperors and kings.

While the question of whether the emperor exercised temporal authority over the kingdom of France may not have been addressed directly, French specialists in Roman law had been raising it indirectly since at least the middle of the thirteenth century. The problem that confronted the jurists was not whether the king was subject to the emperor, but rather, as Pennington has made clear, the relationship between the king, his subjects, and the law.⁶ An interest in this relationship led to the practical problem of how Roman legal principles and concepts might be applied in a northern French context.⁷ For the Roman jurists two issues arose which necessitated defining the French king's relationship with the law. The first of these was the desire to rationalise theory, that is the *Corpus iuris civilis*, the Emperor Justinian's codification of Roman law, with practice. In the north 'practice' meant the customary law which predominated in territory directly subject to Capetian-Valois authority and in neighbouring lordships such as Metz.⁸ One approach to this problem, exemplified by the *Coutumes de Clermont en Beauvaisis* (1283) compiled by the royal *bailli* Philippe de Beaumanoir (d. 1296),⁹ was the codification of the *coutumes* following the Roman model.¹⁰ Another was the attempt by jurists such as Jacques de Révigny to explain the relationship between the *coutumes* and the Roman code. Jacques, for example, tended to view customs, in the regions where they were applied, as superior to Roman law,¹¹ but the latter as something

⁶ K. Pennington, *The Prince and the Law 1200-1600: Sovereignty and Rights in the Western Legal Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 101.

⁷ As Bezemer has put it: 'In [Jacques de Révigny's] mind were French problems that had to be solved with Roman law, as an instrument, no more than that', p. ix.

⁸ On the development of legal practice in northern France: M. Bellomo, *The Common Legal Past of Europe 1000-1800*, trans. by L. G. Cochrane, 2nd edn (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1995), pp. 102-03.

⁹ Concerning the impact of Roman legal principles upon Philippe's work: Bellomo, p. 104; Sivéry, *Philippe III*, pp. 308-13.

¹⁰ Regarding the impact of Roman law upon other codifications of customs: Krynen, *L'Empire*, p. 77.

¹¹ For Jacques' view of customary law: Bezemer, pp. 6-8.

which might be resorted to when custom failed to provide a solution.¹² These efforts gave rise to practical questions: where did the authority lie to resolve problems that arose when elements of customary law contradicted Roman legal principles? What institution possessed the necessary legitimate authority to modify or abrogate either customary or Roman law?

The second issue was the attempt by jurists such as Jean de Blanot (d. c. 1281) and Pierre de Mornay, advisers, respectively, to Hugues IV of Burgundy,¹³ and to Philippe III and Philippe IV,¹⁴ to deploy Roman legal principles in the interests of their patrons. This raised the question of the place occupied by the French king and his officials, not to mention the barons, their vassals, and other elements of the feudal hierarchy, within the Roman legal framework. Any attempt to apply Roman principles to existing situations in France could prove problematic: Jacques de Révigny, for example, concluded that provosts must be guilty of homicide because their Roman 'equivalent', the *defensor civitatis*, lacked the authority to condemn people to death.¹⁵ Attempts to situate Roman legal thought within the pre-existent northern French legal structure and efforts to apply Roman legal principles to contemporary circumstances brought Roman jurists in France to confront a fundamental and thorny problem: whether or not the French king could be equated with the *princeps* of Roman law.

The equation of the French king with the *princeps* facilitated the application of Roman legal principles within the French kingdom, enabling, in theory, the alteration or derogation of material within the Roman code, but, more fundamentally, enabling the legitimate alteration or derogation of *coutumes*, and indeed the promulgation of new ones. In his 1256 commentary *Libellus super Institutionum titulum De actionibus*, Jean de Blanot removed royal power from

¹² For an example of a case where Jacques found custom to be inadequate and, consequently, offered a solution based on Roman law: *ibid.*, p. 85; for a case where Jacques defended one particular interpretation of an ambiguous bequest based on an analogous case in the *Digest*: *ibid.*, p. 86.

¹³ M. Boulet-Sautel, 'Jean de Blanot et la conception du pouvoir royal au temps de Saint Louis', in *Septième centenaire de la mort de Saint Louis (Actes des colloques de Royaumont et de Paris, 21-27 mai, 1970)*, ed. by L. Carolus-Barré (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1976), pp. 57–68 (p. 57).

¹⁴ Pennington, *Prince and the Law*, p. 99.

¹⁵ Bezemer, pp. 67–68.

the private sphere and placed it firmly in the public.¹⁶ French jurists generally came to agree upon the principle Jean established,¹⁷ *rex Francie in regno suo princeps est*, a tag which became a staple of legal circles, though there is little to suggest it enjoyed more popular diffusion before the mid-fourteenth century. It is, for example, notably absent from chronicles written before 1350. The *Grandes Chroniques* provides an illustrative case: it was only in a version prepared after 1380 that the tag appeared in the episode recounting Adolf of Nassau's challenge to Philippe IV.¹⁸

While it enabled the assimilation of royal authority to imperial, the legal tag did not clarify the question of the king's relationship with the emperor. Jean de Blanot had assimilated royal power to imperial power, yet the two were not identical: the king exercised his authority within the kingdom, the emperor his over the entire world.¹⁹ The question of whether the French king was subject to the emperor or not was simply not a problem that Jean sought to resolve. His reasoning did not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the French kingdom was outside or separate from the Empire: the implication, although Jean himself did not elucidate it, was that the kingdom was more akin to a self-governing allod contained within the Empire.²⁰

In 1202 Pope Innocent III had issued *Per venerabilem* in which he had declared that *rex ipse [Franciae] superiorem in temporalibus minime recognoscat*.²¹ For jurists such as Jean de Blanot this particular decretal provided an extremely useful argument in their attempts to assimilate the king's authority to that of the Roman *princeps*.²² At the same time it raised a further question which concerned precisely how Innocent was to be interpreted on this matter. Had he meant that the king recognized no superior but that this was simply the *de facto* situation, or had he meant that the king recognized no superior as of right, that is *de iure*? For a number of canonists, most prominent amongst whom was Innocent IV, *Per venerabilem* meant that not simply France, but all

¹⁶ Boulet-Sautel, 'Jean de Blanot', pp. 61–62. The relevant sections of the *Libellus* are edited: Boulet-Sautel, 'Jean de Blanot', pp. 66–68.

¹⁷ Krynen, *L'Empire*, p. 79.

¹⁸ *Extrait d'une chronique anonyme finissant en M.CCC.LXXX*, p. 127. Cf. *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 158–60.

¹⁹ Boulet-Sautel, 'Jean de Blanot', p. 65.

²⁰ Boulet-Sautel, 'Jean de Blanot', pp. 65–66.

²¹ X 4. 17. 13.

²² Boulet-Sautel, 'Jean de Blanot', p. 63.

kingdoms, were *de iure* independent of the Empire.²³ It is notable, though, that many French jurists were not particularly enamoured of Innocent IV's view.

The sympathies of Jacques de Révigny lay with Philippe IV. In 1294 Jacques placed Verdun, his own bishopric and a city generally recognized to lie within the Empire, under interdict when the citizens chose to offer support to the English king Edward I. Jacques' own position in the city became so difficult as a consequence of his support for the Capetians that he was forced to flee.²⁴ Yet, paradoxically, Jacques' view of the nature of the French king's relationship with the emperor is unlikely to have been one that endeared him to Philippe. Writing around 1270, when still a professor of law at Orléans, Jacques had been quite clear that the independence of the French king, or any other king, could only ever be a *de facto* state.²⁵ More than this, he seems to have believed that, in theory at least, the emperor's authority extended over the French kingdom in practical matters. For Gaines Post, Jacques was 'merely engaging in a play of ideas' when he suggested that the emperor might grant a French province, Orléans, immunity from a clerical tenth granted to the French king by the pope.²⁶ While it is unlikely that Jacques considered it would be possible, in practice, for an emperor to grant such a privilege, there is little reason to suppose that he considered that, *de iure*, if the emperor did make such a law it would not be a valid one.

Jacques was not alone or even unusual in taking the view that the independence enjoyed by French kings was merely *de facto*. Even royal advisers such as Pierre de Mornay²⁷ and Pierre de Belleperche²⁸ echoed his opinion. Equally, it appeared in the 1330s in a series of *additiones* that the jurist Pierre Jame d'Aurillac (d. after 1351) prepared to his work on procedures.²⁹ The latter

²³ Innocent took this approach in the course of establishing that, ultimately, all secular political entities were subject to the pope: P. N. Riesenbergh, *Inalienability of Sovereignty in Medieval Political Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 86.

²⁴ Bezemer, p. 33. For contemporary views of Verdun's status see chapter seven.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 97. For the commentaries in which Jacques notes the error of rulers who call themselves emperors: *ibid.*, p. 100.

²⁶ G. Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100–1322* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 473.

²⁷ Pennington, *Prince and the Law*, pp. 99–101.

²⁸ Post, pp. 474–75. Concerning Pierre's life and career: F. J. Pegues, *The Lawyers of the Last Capetians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 46, 108–09.

²⁹ Pennington, *Prince and the Law*, pp. 97–98.

differed from Jacques in that he did not believe that law made by emperors who did not rule over France was valid in the French kingdom, or that the French were subject to the Roman people, or to the emperor. At the same time, this does not necessarily imply that he considered the independence enjoyed by the French to be *de iure*.³⁰ These jurists recognized the temporal superiority of the emperor, even if they were of the opinion that it was of little practical consequence.

The perspective of the jurists was formed by a series of common assumptions, the most important of which was that the *Corpus iuris civilis* was the foundation stone of their thought. The *Corpus iuris civilis* conceived of the world in terms of an hierarchical structure of temporal authority which culminated in the emperor. This structure militated against any argument for *de iure* independence. The relationship between the French king and the Roman legal code could not, from the perspective of the jurists, be the same as that which existed between the *princeps*, that is the emperor, and the code. The king was *not* the equal of the emperor in this context; he was bound by the code in a way that the emperor was not. If Roman law principles such as the *Lex Iulia maiestatis* were applicable to the French king it was, as Jacques de Révigny noted, not because he was *princeps* but because he was the magistrate of the prince. Jacques explained that this was the case because France was not only at one time under the Empire but had often been so.³¹

While a fundamental inequality between king and emperor was founded upon the basic tenets of the jurists's principal source, this was not necessarily problematic. The question of whether or not the French king was subject to the emperor was not central to the problems that jurists such as Jacques de Révigny were attempting to solve, just as it had not been central to Jean de Blanot. It was not necessary to ascertain anything more than that the French king could be assimilated to the role of *princeps* with regard to the application of the *Corpus iuris civilis* within the exclusive context of the French kingdom.

It is difficult to determine how influential the outlook adopted by the jurists came to be in northern France.³² The widespread contempt in which Roman

³⁰ Compare with Post, p. 477.

³¹ Post, pp. 473–74. Nevertheless, Post did not think that Jacques could have believed that France was subject to the Empire in his own day.

³² Indeed, it is difficult, given the present state of research, to determine quite how representative the views of legal scholars such as Jacques de Révigny were of the views held by French legal practitioners as a whole. Walter Ullmann, while recognizing that certain jurists such as Jean de Blanot and Pierre de Belleperche adopted a position in favour of

legal practitioners seem to have been held, expressed, for example, in the metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris,³³ must raise some initial doubts concerning the significance contemporaries attached to their views. It was certainly quite possible for jurist opinions to be at odds with those held more generally, as has been seen in the case of Jacques de Révigny's attitude towards the disinheritance of the Hohenstaufen. It seems unlikely that many sections of French society began with the same basic assumptions as the jurists, that is, principally, that the Roman legal code was the only valid law.³⁴ It is true, as Bellomo has noted, that the ecclesiastical and civil juridical systems of western Europe as a whole operated upon procedures and concepts essentially derived from Roman jurisprudence. This was true even in regions such as the northern French milieu, where the civil system had no direct recourse to the *Corpus iuris civilis*.³⁵ Yet such fundamental principles are less relevant than contemporary perceptions of the relationship between Roman law and society.

The circumstances which elicited Pope Honorius III's 1219 bull *Super speculam*, which forbade the teaching of Roman law at Paris, have been the subject of controversy since the late-nineteenth century.³⁶ The view that it was a papal

French independence as *de facto*, rather than *de iure*, believed that such views remained a minority opinion in France, and indeed a minority amongst French jurists. He offers little evidence, however, to support this latter point for the period before the mid-fourteenth century: 'Development of the Medieval Idea of Sovereignty', pp. 7–8. Joseph Canning has suggested, in contrast, that in fact the 'mainstream' position of both French and Italian legal commentators was to support the *de iure* universal sovereignty of the emperor: 'Ideas of the State', p. 7. The views of the lawyer Pierre Dubois (discussed below) provide reason to doubt Ullmann's analysis but the subject requires further research. Although beyond the scope of this monograph it is an area I hope to explore further in future.

³³ A point noted by E. Meynial, 'Remarques sur la réaction populaire contre l'invasion du droit romain en France aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles', in *Mélanges Chabaneau. Volume offert à Camille Chabaneau à l'occasion du 75^e anniversaire de sa naissance (4 mars 1906) par ses élèves, ses amis et ses admirateurs* (Erlangen: Junge, 1907; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1973), pp. 557–84 (pp. 557–67).

³⁴ For the masters of Orléans, Toulouse, and Montpellier, 'il n'y a de droit que le droit romain, et de lois que romaines. Les autres règles sociales n'expriment que des pratiques de fait', Krynen, *L'Empire*, p. 75.

³⁵ Bellomo, pp. 152–54.

³⁶ The debate over the circumstances which led to the bull is summarized by A. Rigaudière, 'La royauté, le parlement et le droit écrit aux alentours des années 1300', *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1996* (1996), 885–908 (p. 887, n. 7).

concession to a Capetian desire to check the potential 'external' threat posed by Roman law to the exercise of royal authority presumes that, like the jurists, the Capetian kings recognized the innate superiority of Roman law. It also presumes that, unlike the jurists, their prime concern was with its potential to subordinate French royal authority to that of the emperor. There is much to suggest that the first of these presumptions is inaccurate and that the second did not become a source of active concern until specific circumstances drew it to the attention of the royal government, and northern French society more generally, in the late-thirteenth century. As Jacques Krynen has pointed out in the case of *Super speculam*, there are no indications that Philippe Auguste played any part in the Pope's decision and there is every reason to believe that Honorius was pursuing his own agenda, one motivated by a desire to preserve the integrity of theological studies at Paris.³⁷ The most persuasive evidence in favour of this interpretation is the fact that the Capetians did nothing to deter the foundation of a law school at Orléans. This is not to say that the Capetian-Valois kings did not consider Roman law to be problematic. There is little, however, to suggest that they perceived the problem to lie in a theoretical threat that arose out of speculation concerning their relationship with the emperor. Rather, Roman law was intimately connected with the difficulties they faced in asserting royal authority over the southern lands effectively annexed to the French kingdom by Louis VIII.

The Languedoc might have been forcibly integrated into the French kingdom, but it remained culturally, linguistically, and even, to some extent, politically a separate and troublesome entity. The serious rebellion, led by Roger-Bernard III, Count of Foix, with which Philippe III was confronted in 1271–72³⁸ is illustrative of the region's instability. In order to exercise effective control it was necessary firmly to establish royal authority. To do this it became vital to demonstrate to the inhabitants that their pre-existing customs were dependent upon the king for their legitimacy and validity. In 1333, for example, the inhabitants of the seneschalsy of Carcassonne refused to pay a subsidy requested for the knighting of the future Jean II on the grounds that custom, *ius scriptum*, exempted them from such payments.³⁹ Such behaviour was not, in itself, unacceptable to the Capetian-Valois kings. However, it was necessary that at the same time the inhabitants recognize that their right to this exemption ultimately derived from the king. Philippe VI affirmed this in 1347 by issuing

³⁷ Krynen, *L'Empire*, p. 74.

³⁸ Langlois, *Philippe III*, pp. 59–62.

³⁹ Rigaudière, 'La royauté, le parlement et le droit écrit', p. 893.

an ordonnance which confirmed that the seneschalsy of Carcassonne was subject to *ius scriptum*.⁴⁰ In essence the Capetian-Valois kings sought to promote a particular view of the legal system, one in which *ius scriptum* was seen to exist on the same level as any other customary code. This had a fundamental effect upon royal attitudes towards Roman law because it was upon the latter that *ius scriptum* was based.

Louis IX's 1254 ordonnance sent to the seneschal of Beaucaire and Philippe IV's 1312 instructions regulating the study of law at Orléans encapsulate a royal attitude towards the Roman legal code which did not begin from the jurists' premise that the *Corpus iuris civilis* was the only valid law. Louis declared that custom based upon Roman law was to be applied not because the King was in any way forced to allow it but because he saw no need, for the moment, to change it;⁴¹ Philippe noted that his ancestors had permitted the use of *ius scriptum* but that the kingdom was principally regulated by customs.⁴² Roman-law-based custom might be applied as a law of first instance in some regions, but this usage continued only on the sufferance of the king. Indeed, in 1278 Philippe III even went so far as to forbid lawyers from employing Roman-law-based argument where *coutumes* were observed.⁴³

The emphasis which French kings placed upon Roman law as merely one set of customs amongst many, a set from which the king might dispense if he thought necessary, was intended to impress the nature of royal authority upon a turbulent southern society. Acts such as Louis's 1254 ordonnance and Philippe's 1312 regulations were not intended as attacks upon a perceived 'imperial' legal system that the kings feared might be used to subvert their authority. Rather, they were intended to affirm royal authority over what were considered to be local usages which might otherwise escape their control.⁴⁴ The

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 893. An approach pursued since at least the mid-thirteenth century: *ibid.*, pp. 888–89.

⁴¹ '[...] quo casu iura scripta quibus utuntur ab antiquo volumus observari, non quod eorum obliget nos auctoritas seu astringat, set quia mores eorum in hac parte ad presens non duximus immutandas', Ordonnance of July 1254 in favour of the inhabitants of Beaucaire and Nîmes, cited from: *ibid.*, p. 889, n. 14.

⁴² Ibid., p. 890.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 891.

⁴⁴ Compare with Ullmann's view that Louis's 1254 ordonnance provides a clear statement of the King's conception of his legal and political relationship with the Emperor: 'Development of the Medieval Idea of Sovereignty', p. 11.

problem of the relationship between the king and the emperor, a topic which was of peripheral interest even to the jurists, arose only when Roman law was considered to be a benchmark by which other laws were judged. If it was not considered to be such a benchmark, and it seems unlikely that any but the jurists considered it so in northern France, the problem simply did not arise. It would only be necessary to confront the issue of the potential subordination of the French king to the emperor on Roman legal grounds if such subordination were to be proposed. Neither Frederick II, nor his predecessors, although they made much use of the language of world rulership, sought to put such a case: their concern focused upon the struggle with the papacy.⁴⁵ While the majority of Frederick's successors were too pre-occupied with asserting their authority over the German lands of the Empire to concern themselves with asserting it over anyone else, there did arise a need to consider Roman legal arguments for imperial overlordship in the late-thirteenth century, yet this need had little to do with the Empire directly.

Beating Boniface — The Case for French Exemption

In most probably the late spring or summer of 1302⁴⁶ the tract now commonly known as the *Quaestio in utramque partem* took to task those jurists who believed that the independence of the French king could only ever be *de facto*: 'Si dicas quod, etsi non recognoscat, tamen de iure deberet, respondemus per interemptionem quod non debet'.⁴⁷ The author, possibly himself a jurist,⁴⁸ was by no means alone in arguing that the independence of the French king was *de iure*. Slightly earlier, the author of *Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem*, almost

⁴⁵ L. E. Scales, 'France and the Empire: the Viewpoint of Alexander of Roes', *French History*, 9 (1995), 394–416 (pp. 411–12). For a summary of the extensive literature: Scales, 'France and the Empire', p. 412, n. 80.

⁴⁶ For this dating: *Three Royalist Tracts, 1296–1302. Antequam essent clerici; Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem; Quaestio in utramque partem*, ed. by R. W. Dyson (Bristol: Thoemmes, 1999), pp. xxix–xxxiii.

⁴⁷ *Quaestio in utramque partem*, p. 80.

⁴⁸ R. Scholz, *Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps des Schönen und Bonifaz' VIII. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der politischen Anschauungen des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1903; repr. Amsterdam: Schippers, 1962), p. 229. Although, as Dr Dyson notes, the use of the *Corpus iuris civilis* and its glosses is actually somewhat limited: *Three Royalist Tracts*, ed. by Dyson, p. xxxvi, n. 63. The author was, however, almost certainly French: *ibid.*, p. xxix.

certainly a layman and quite possibly a lawyer,⁴⁹ had addressed the jurists' perennial problem of the king's relationship with the law and argued that if the king, *qui est summus*, could not change and promulgate new laws then no one could, because there is no superior over the king.⁵⁰ Between 1320 and 1340 the French jurist Jean Faure noted that while *imperator fundatus erat olim de jure communi in omni orbe*, this was no longer the case and that today he did not believe that the emperor could exercise his authority *de iure* beyond certain limits.⁵¹

An argument in favour of *de iure* independence from the Empire, pioneered as it had been by the canonists, was by no means the novel invention of these writers. However, a question which had remained something of a technicality for jurists such as Jacques de Révigny was brought into sharp focus in northern France by the events of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. Between 1296 and 1303 a need arose to prove the independence of the French king and his kingdom from imperial authority. Paradoxically the circumstances that gave rise to this requirement involved the Empire and its would-be ruler, Albrecht of Habsburg, only indirectly.

The first quarrel between Philippe IV and Pope Boniface VIII broke out in 1296 but was quickly resolved in the following year. It arose over the issue of Philippe's attempts to tax the French clergy in order to pay for his war against Edward I and the Flemings.⁵² The second and more serious dispute, which was sparked by the King's arrest of the Bishop of Pamiers, Bernard Saisset, in 1301, ended only with Boniface's death in 1303.⁵³ At the centre of both disagreements lay the question of the relationship between temporal and spiritual power. Papal apologists argued forcibly in favour of the complete

⁴⁹ Dr Dyson has recently highlighted several problems associated with the traditional dating of this tract to 1296–97. While noting that a significant proportion of the content is relevant to a very specific Franco-papal dispute over taxation in the closing years of the thirteenth century, he convincingly demonstrates that internal evidence suggests that the tract may not have been written until the opening years of the fourteenth century: *ibid.*, pp. xviii–xxi.

⁵⁰ *Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem*, p. 42.

⁵¹ Commentary on *Corpus iuris civilis*, *Code*, 1. 1 from Jean Faure's *Codicis breviarum*, cited from: Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 654, n. 74. Post, pp. 476–77.

⁵² Boase, pp. 131–56; Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, pp. 251–55; Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, pp. 274–86; Paravicini Bagliani, *Boniface*, pp. 139–55.

⁵³ Boase, pp. 297–351; Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, pp. 260–79; Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, pp. 318–28, 343–93; Paravicini Bagliani, *Boniface*, pp. 299–325.

subjection of the temporal power to the spiritual. Most prominent amongst them was the Archbishop of Bourges, Giles of Rome, who argued, in his *De ecclesiastica potestate* (1301/02), not only that spiritual power was of greater dignity than temporal but that the former also pre-dated the latter.⁵⁴ This theoretical argument was not the only weapon in the papal arsenal.

Regardless of whether or not the relationship between the powers outlined by Giles of Rome were to be accepted, papal apologists could argue that France and its king were, in any case, subject to a superior form of temporal authority. The possessor of this latter might act at papal behest to curb Philippe's impudence. At the height of the second dispute Boniface took the first steps towards proving precisely this point by endorsing the imperial candidature of Albrecht of Habsburg.⁵⁵ The continuator of the annals of Rouen,⁵⁶ an anonymous account written in Boulogne,⁵⁷ and Bernard Gui,⁵⁸ a man very much in a position to understand papal policy, all interpreted Boniface's endorsement as something specifically intended to harm Philippe. These three accounts, written independently of each other, suggest that there was little room in France for misunderstanding the papal argument. For those who wished to defend Philippe it was therefore necessary to prove not only the independence (if not the parity) of spiritual and temporal power but also the independence of Philippe's authority from the claims made by the papacy on behalf of the emperor.

⁵⁴ *Giles of Rome's On Ecclesiastical Power: A Medieval Theory of World Government*, ed. and trans. by R. W. Dyson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). For the reasons why this new critical edition is to be preferred to the older editions see my review in *Comitatus* 36 (2005), 234–38 (p. 236).

⁵⁵ Paravicini Bagliani, *Boniface*, pp. 340–42.

⁵⁶ Continuation of the annals of Rouen for 1282–1343, *E Chronici Rotomagensis continuatione*, p. 347.

⁵⁷ *Extraits d'une chronique anonyme française*, p. 136. This chronicle was probably compiled before Philippe IV's death, although the one extant manuscript was copied perhaps more than a century later: *Extraits d'une chronique anonyme française*, pp. 130–31.

⁵⁸ Bernard Gui sums up the relationship between papal confirmation of Albrecht's position and Boniface's dispute with Philippe particularly clearly in his *Reges francorum*: 'Bonifacius papa regi Franciae Philippo movet litem ipsumque excommunicat indirecte, quia non permittebat aliquem exire de regno Franciae libere versus Romanam curiam nec pecuniam asportari, omnesque passus et exitus viarum ubique praeceperat custodiri. Ob quam causam etiam idem Bonifacius Albertum, filium quondam Rodulphi, ducem Austriae, regem Alamanniae, cujus electionem antea repulerat et renuerat, in imperatorem confirmat, eidem subiciens regnum Franciae sicut et alia regna', *Reges francorum* in *Flores chronicorum*, p. 713.

Despite the proliferation of arguments in favour of *de iure* independence, the position remained one that specialists in Roman law found difficult to endorse wholeheartedly. In part, the problem almost certainly lay in the fact that it was not possible simply to appropriate the arguments originally produced by canon lawyers: canonists who favoured *de iure* independence, such as the Englishman Alanus,⁵⁹ writing in the early-thirteenth century, and later Innocent IV, had also tended to argue for ultimate papal supremacy in temporal matters. Simultaneously, the same factor which had shaped the thought of Jean de Blanot and Jacques de Révigny, the nature of the *Corpus iuris civilis*, made *de iure* independence a difficult concept to accept.

It is notable that amongst those who chose to argue in favour of *de iure* independence few could find legal grounds on which to do so. Jean Faure, for example, could only attribute it to divine dispensation.⁶⁰ The *Quaestio in utramque partem*⁶¹ and the *Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem*⁶² settled upon historical justifications. Some, such as Pierre Dubois, who chose to speak not only of the independence of the French king,⁶³ but also noted the existence of other princes and cities which did not recognize any temporal superior,⁶⁴ simply refrained from addressing the question of whether, in legal terms, the independence they enjoyed was strictly legitimate.⁶⁵ If finding a legal justification of *de iure* independence proved difficult, it was less problematic to find a legal argument which justified the specific exemption of the French kingdom and its ruler from what, otherwise, was tacitly acknowledged to be the universal temporal jurisdiction exercised by the emperor. Such arguments arose specifically in response to papal claims based upon the so-called *Donation of Constantine*.⁶⁶ Although frequently questioned, the *Donation* was generally

⁵⁹ Post, pp. 464–66.

⁶⁰ 'Hodie vero verum cum divisum sit imperium Dei permissione [. . .]', *Codicis breviarum*, cited from: Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 654, n. 74.

⁶¹ *Quaestio in utramque partem*, p. 80.

⁶² *Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem*, pp. 40–42.

⁶³ *Summaria brevis*, pp. 39–40; *Deliberatio*, p. 46; *Supplication du pueble de France*, pp. 214, 215; *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 5, p. 8.

⁶⁴ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 12, p. 11, chap. 52, p. 44, chap. 106, p. 90.

⁶⁵ Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', pp. 66–67.

⁶⁶ The text of the *Donation* with which contemporaries would have been most familiar was Dist. 96, c. 13; Dist. 96, c. 14. For an example of reference being made to this version of the *Donation: Rex pacificus*, p. 37.

accepted until, in the first half of the fifteenth century, Lorenzo Valla (1407–57) succeeded in demonstrating it to be a forgery.⁶⁷

While it might appear somewhat at odds with the papal claim to possess temporal authority on the theological grounds outlined by Giles of Rome,⁶⁸ the idea that Constantine had handed over the temporal authority he possessed as emperor to Pope Sylvester was an argument with too great a potential value to be simply ignored by papal apologists. Most notably, James of Viterbo, writing in spring or summer of 1302,⁶⁹ wrestled with the problems presented by the *Donation* in his *De regimine christiano*.⁷⁰ In common with Boniface VIII's plan to set up an imperial candidate, the *Donation* offered an alternative avenue by which the papacy might exert temporal authority over the French king. Unlike the plan to elevate Albrecht it had the distinct advantage of placing this authority directly in the hands of the pope. This dangerous potential led to widespread attempts in the first decade of the fourteenth century to refute the papal interpretation of Constantine's act, no doubt stimulated not only by James of Viterbo but, in particular, by Boniface's restatement of the *Donation's* principles in the bull *Fundamenta*.⁷¹

The *Donation* could, it was suggested, simply be discounted as invalid on the legal grounds that Constantine had possessed neither the authority to make it nor the ability to bind his successors by its terms.⁷² Even if the validity of the act were to be accepted, French writers could find three reasons why it did not provide the papacy with adequate grounds to claim temporal authority over the French kingdom. One was to suggest that the *Donation* was limited. This, for example, was one argument offered in the *Quaestio in utramque partem*, whose author noted that the only thing Constantine had given over to the papacy was

⁶⁷ Chazan notes that the *Donation* had been questioned since the reign of Otto III: 'Les lieux de la critique', p. 35, n. 49.

⁶⁸ This did not go unnoticed by contemporaries: 'si ex institutione divina papa dicit se esse dominum omnium temporalium, quae necessitas est dicere quod ex donatione Constantini sit monarcha utriusque potestatis in urbe Romana?', *Quaestio in utramque partem*, p. 104.

⁶⁹ James of Viterbo *On Christian Government*, trans. by R. W. Dyson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), p. xvii.

⁷⁰ *Le plus ancien traité de l'église: Jacques de Viterbe, De regimine christiano*, ed. by H.-X. Arquillière (Paris: Beauchesne, 1926).

⁷¹ VI^o 1. 6. 17.

⁷² *Deliberatio*, p. 46; *Quaestio in utramque partem*, p. 106. *De potestate regia et papali*, in *Jean de Paris et l'ecclésiologie du XIII^e siècle*, ed. with an introduction by J. Leclercq (Paris: Vrin, 1942), chap. xxi, pp. 244–45.

the city of Rome.⁷³ Jean Quidort⁷⁴ and Pierre Dubois,⁷⁵ although they appear to have regarded the *Donation* as slightly more extensive, were similarly of the opinion that Constantine's gift had been limited. The anonymous *Rex pacificus* took a similar view.⁷⁶ This latter was possibly produced as a formal summary of the views of the Paris masters on the Franco-papal dispute.⁷⁷ While several of its arguments are markedly similar to those employed in the *Quaestio* and by Jean Quidort the precise relationship between these three texts remains unclear⁷⁸ and it is probably going too far to attribute both anonymous works to Jean.⁷⁹

Preferred by Dubois, a second reason was the legal principle of prescription. France had not been subject to the Empire for at least one hundred years. In consequence, even if the *Donation* had been valid, the operation of the prescriptive mechanism in Roman law meant that the French kingdom was exempt from imperial, and consequently papal, authority. Indeed, to emphasize this point Dubois noted that French kings had enjoyed freedom from the Empire for over a thousand years.⁸⁰ Although it was taken up by a number of authors,⁸¹ prescription was not a wholly satisfactory argument: as some jurists suggested, amongst them Pierre de Belleperche (d. 1308), it could be argued that prescription could not run against the Empire.⁸² It was possibly for this reason that many writers, with the notable exception of Dubois, chose to add to their legal arguments an 'historical' justification for French exemption.

⁷³ *Quaestio in utramque partem*, p. 104.

⁷⁴ *De potestate regia et papali*, chap. xxi, pp. 243–44.

⁷⁵ 'et les autres saincts Apostoiles, ne les autres, iusques au temps dudit Boniface, ne demanderent onques Seigneurie, fors en ce que Constantins donna à l'Eglise', *Supplication du pueble de France*, p. 216. For Dubois this consisted of Rome, the Tuscan march, and the southern Italian *regno*: *Summaria brevis*, p. 12.

⁷⁶ *Rex pacificus*, p. 37.

⁷⁷ R. W. Dyson, in *ibid.*, pp. xix–xx.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

⁷⁹ Compare with Paravicini Bagliani, *Boniface*, p. 333.

⁸⁰ *Deliberatio*, p. 46; *Supplication du pueble de France*, p. 218.

⁸¹ *Quaestio in utramque partem*, pp. 62, 82, 106; *De potestate regia et papali*, chap. xxi, p. 246; *Rex pacificus*, p. 38. A similar idea appears in the work of the early-fourteenth-century French jurist Jean Faure (Johannes Faber): Ullmann, 'Development of the Medieval Idea of Sovereignty', p. 12.

⁸² Post, p. 475.

Primat's *Roman des rois* was probably one of the most influential of several accounts to construct a Trojan ancestry for the contemporary inhabitants of France.⁸³ This idea, which rested on a belief that the population of France formed an homogenous unit with a common ancestry, was probably fostered by a growing sense of regnal solidarity produced, in part, by the expansion of effective royal government.⁸⁴ The importance of this origin myth is underlined by, for example, the prefacing of Primat's *Roman des rois* in Pierre Honoré's compilation with an illumination, unusually large for the manuscript, depicting the sack of Troy.⁸⁵ The *Quaestio in utramque partem* was one of several tracts to argue that these Trojan origins offered a basis for exemption from imperial authority. The Trojan ancestors of the French, it was suggested, had never been subject to the Empire's authority and in particular had refused to pay tribute to the Emperor Valentinian. Even when driven out of their city of Sycambria they had not been subdued. Their descendants could not, therefore, be affected by Constantine's donation.⁸⁶ Yet this approach was no less problematic than many legal arguments.

⁸³ *Grandes Chroniques*, I, 9–18.

⁸⁴ Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, pp. 282–83. For discussion of the link between growing thirteenth-century interest in origin myths and the growth of regnal authority across western Europe see: S. Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium* and the Community of the Realm', *History*, 68 (1983), 375–90, and for the French case in particular, pp. 386–87. Geoffroi de Collon, adopting and adapting from Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon*, recognized the prior presence of the Gauls in what would become the French kingdom and gives an extensive account explaining their political and biological merger with the Franks into one people. In Geoffroi's account the Franks play a somewhat paternalistic role in which their superiority is emphasized: *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, pp. 180–86.

⁸⁵ BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 19^r. Placed at the head of Primat's general prologue; for the flight from Troy: fol. 20^v–22^r.

⁸⁶ After the fall of Troy a group of survivors built the city of Sycambria, 'manserunt ibi usque ad tempora Valentiani imperatoris, semper infesti imperio. Expulsi vero inde ab imperatore praedicto, pro eo quod tributa Romanis solvere recusarent iuxta morem aliarum nationum, habitaverunt iuxta Renum, in confinio Germaniae et Alemanniae; quos cum multis praeliis post, idem Valentianus sibi subiugare tentasset, nec aliquatenus potuisset, appellavit eos *Francos*', *Quaestio in utramque partem*, pp. 80–82; *De potestate regia et papali*, chap. xxi, p. 246. Concerning the interpretation of the Trojan myth by Philippe le Bel's supporters: C. Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), pp. 42–43.

While Primat recounted that the Franks had refused to pay tribute to the Emperor Valentinian⁸⁷ and gone on to defeat a Roman army,⁸⁸ he also noted that they had, like all other nations, originally been subject to Rome and paid tribute.⁸⁹ In his universal chronicle, Geoffroi de Collon similarly implied that the Franks had originally been tributaries of the Empire but had been granted a ten-year respite for services rendered to the Emperor Valentinian. When they refused to recommence the payments the Emperor chased them from Sycambria.⁹⁰ For Jean de Saint-Victor, writing before 1308, not only were the descendants of the Trojans forced originally to submit to the Empire by the son of the Emperor Constantine,⁹¹ but they were then soundly beaten by the Emperor Valentinian when they later refused to pay tribute.⁹² This was, Jean noted, according to Sigebert de Gembloux; the Franks fared little better, however, in an alternate version of their origins attributed by Jean to Hugues de Saint-Victor: according to Hugues the Franks had been subject to the Roman Empire and paid tribute like other nations.⁹³ The inclusion of these versions greatly expanded upon an earlier account of French origins given by Jean, yet even this latter had contained the idea that the Franks had paid tribute to the Romans and that they had been chased from Sycambria when they rebelled.⁹⁴ While a sermon preached in order to rally support for Philippe IV's war with the Flemings could give a version of Sigebert's account which left out the idea that the Franks had been defeated by the Romans,⁹⁵ the existence of

⁸⁷ *Grandes Chroniques*, I, 15.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18.

⁸⁹ 'tributaire estoient aus Romains, ausi come les autres nations', *ibid.*, p. 12.

⁹⁰ *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 178.

⁹¹ *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), 248.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁹⁴ *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (I), in Jean de Saint-Victor. *Traité de la division des royaumes. Introduction à une histoire universelle*, ed. and trans. by I. Guyot-Bachy and D. Poirel, Sous la Règle de saint Augustin, 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 72–113 (pp. 106–08). Cf. Guyot-Bachy, *Le 'Memoriale historiarum' de Jean de Saint-Victor*, p. 409. The title *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* is unique to the manuscript tradition of the second version of the *Memoriale*: Schmidt-Chazan, 'L'Idée d'empire dans le *Memoriale historiarum*', p. 301, n. 4. It is employed here with appropriate numbering to facilitate reference to the Guyot-Bachy/Poirel edition.

⁹⁵ *Sermo cum rex Franciae est processurus ad bellum*, p. 171.

interpretations such as Jean's may explain the emergence of several alternative 'historical' justifications for French independence.

The Knight of the *Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem*, while not concerned specifically with the *Donation*, was equally intent upon frustrating any ecclesiastical argument that the authority of the French king was subordinate to that of the emperor. He argued that the French king was not subject to imperial laws on the grounds that his kingdom had been separated from the Empire by fraternal division amongst Charlemagne's grandsons, so that: 'Quidquid ergo privilegii et dignitatis retinet imperii nomen in parte una, hoc regnum Franciae tenet in alia'.⁹⁶ Trojan descent led the author of the Flanders sermon to establish this equality on a more profound basis: the French were *fratres romani imperii*.⁹⁷ Other historical arguments for French exemption included the suggestion that the Franks had held the Empire prior to the Germans⁹⁸ and the argument employed by Philippe IV's own chancery, that the kingdom of France had been free of imperial authority since the time of Christ.⁹⁹

The argument put forward by Philippe's chancery suggests that either the royal clerks were equating the Trojan-Sycambrian ancestors of the French with the kingdom of France, or, that this was the work of a clerk whose grasp of history was not all that it might have been: contemporary chroniclers, such as Primat, were clear that the French kingdom had not existed at the time of Christ. Nevertheless, study of the most reliable histories, would, as the Knight put it, reveal, seemingly paradoxically, that the kingdom of France was part of the Empire, most noble in standing, separated from it by equal division and distinguished by equal dignity and authority.¹⁰⁰ Whether historical or legal all these justifications shared a common point. They did not argue against the idea that the emperor exercised a form of universal temporal authority; they simply asserted a special case which exempted the French kingdom from this authority.

⁹⁶ *Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem*, p. 40. Cf. an argument of Alexander of Roes: Scales, 'The viewpoint of Alexander of Roes', pp. 404–05. Alexander differed by suggesting that Charlemagne himself instituted the division. The suggestion that such a division had been instituted either by Charlemagne or his heirs also appeared in the work of the Parisian theologian Pierre de la Palud: J. Dunbabin, *A Hound of God: Pierre de la Palud and the Fourteenth-Century Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 89.

⁹⁷ *Sermo cum rex Franciae est processurus ad bellum*, p. 170.

⁹⁸ *Quaestio in utramque partem*, pp. 60–62.

⁹⁹ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 811, p. 813 (July/August 1312).

¹⁰⁰ *Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem*, p. 40.

The recognition of the theoretical universality of the emperor's temporal jurisdiction, with the provision that it did not apply to France, seems to have been regarded as a satisfactory rebuttal of papal-imperial arguments by many, not least Philippe IV's own chancery. Yet several of the inhabitants of northern France seem to have found this reasoning inadequate. While these latter might sometimes repeat the arguments for French exemption, as did Jean Quidort, they also challenged the fundamental principle that had led to the development of such arguments. Was the existence of a universal temporal authority really necessary for the proper ordering of the world and, even if such an authority came into existence, was it anything more than an arbitrary and transient institution?

Jean Quidort — An Alternative to Exemption?

A particularly distinctive feature not only of Philippe's dispute with Boniface but of the first decade of the fourteenth century as a whole were the lengths the King, either on his own initiative or that of his advisers,¹⁰¹ went to in order to secure support. When embroiled in his bitter quarrel with Innocent IV, Frederick II had, to little ultimate effect, sought to win over his fellow rulers.¹⁰² Rather than turn to other kings, Philippe looked to his own subjects and in particular to certain social groups. Philippe's government was undoubtedly keen to associate its actions with the nobility and the higher clergy, but it was also keen to secure the endorsement of less traditional channels of potential support. Philippe's advisers went to great lengths to disseminate the royal perspective to one such group, the populations of the towns, through the holding of the Estates General.¹⁰³ Philippe's advisers were not content merely to ensure that their message was imparted: their intention was to secure the active endorsement of those to whom it was addressed. This was particularly true of a second group, the masters of the University of Paris, whose developing

¹⁰¹ For a recent re-statement of Strayer's view that Philippe was himself responsible for setting policy: E. A. R. Brown, 'The Case of Philip the Fair', in *Persona et Gesta: The Image and Deeds of the Thirteenth-Century Capetians*, ed. by J. W. Baldwin, *Viator*, 19 (1988), 219–46. For an alternative perspective: J. Favier, 'Les légistes et le gouvernement de Philippe le Bel', *Journal des Savants*, 2 (1969), 92–108 (pp. 104–06).

¹⁰² For example: MGH *Constitutiones* 2, no. 262, pp. 360–66; no. 265, pp. 371–72.

¹⁰³ S. Menache, 'A Propaganda Campaign in the Reign of Philip the Fair, 1302–1303', *French History*, 4 (1990), 427–54.

reputation for representing orthodoxy probably made securing their support of greater practical importance than even that of the townsmen.¹⁰⁴

In June 1303 a large proportion of the masters of the university proclaimed their support for the King in a petition which called for the arraignment of Boniface VIII before a general council.¹⁰⁵ Amongst the signatories was a Dominican master of theology, Jean Quidort.¹⁰⁶ *De potestate regia et papali*, the lengthy scholarly tract prepared by Jean most probably between December 1301 and November 1302,¹⁰⁷ was by no means a political pamphlet akin to the outpourings of, for example, Pierre Dubois. Jean's precise intentions have been the subject of recent debate. Like his fellow Dominican, Vincent de Beauvais, it seems likely that the interests of his order played an important role in shaping the structure of his writings. In Jean's case these interests involved the defence of Dominican conceptions of the nature of property and Christ's royalty against those promoted by the Franciscans.¹⁰⁸ While it seems unlikely that the tract, or possibly series of tracts,¹⁰⁹ was written with the sole intention of defending Philippe's position,¹¹⁰ Jean was certainly interested in the dispute between King and Pope. In particular, there are too many references to the events of the second Philippe-Boniface dispute scattered throughout the work to make Janet Coleman's view that Jean was primarily concerned with the mendicant dispute

¹⁰⁴ Menache, 'La naissance d'une nouvelle source d'autorité', pp. 307–08.

¹⁰⁵ Paravicini Bagliani, *Boniface*, p. 367. For a new assessment of this petition which questions the view that the university as a whole supported the king: W. J. Courtenay, 'Between Pope and King: the Parisian Letters of Adhesion of 1303', *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 577–605 (pp. 587–89).

¹⁰⁶ For Jean's adhesion to this petition and a summary of what little can be known with certainty about his life: Cunningham, 'The "Real Distinction" in John Quidort', pp. 12–13.

¹⁰⁷ As John Watt noted, Jean was undoubtedly aware of the papal letter *Ausculat fili* but does not show any awareness of *Unam sanctam* and the events which followed: *John of Paris. On Royal and Papal Power*, trans. by J. A. Watt (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971), pp. 27–28. Jean Leclercq suggested that the treatise could be dated with more precision to the end of 1302 or the first few months of 1303: *Jean de Paris et l'ecclésiologie du XIII^e siècle*, ed. with an introduction by J. Leclercq (Paris: Vrin, 1942), pp. 11–14.

¹⁰⁸ J. Coleman, 'The Dominican Political Theory of John of Paris in its Context', in *The Church and Sovereignty c.590–1918: Essays in Honour of Michael Wilks*, ed. by D. Wood, Studies in Church History, Subsidia, 9 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), pp. 187–223.

¹⁰⁹ Coleman, 'Dominican Political Theory', p. 188.

¹¹⁰ Compare with Krynen, *L'Empire*, p. 96.

and a proposed re-dating of the bulk of the work to 1297-98 appear convincing.¹¹¹ Jean certainly tended to limit royal power,¹¹² yet on the whole, while not inclined to the extremes of certain royal and papal supporters,¹¹³ his outlook favours the royal perspective on the relationship between spiritual and temporal power rather than the papal.¹¹⁴ The twenty-first chapter of *De potestate regia et papali*, in particular, contained a lengthy refutation of the applicability of the *Donation of Constantine* to France. This rebuttal was not Jean's only contribution to Philippe's defence.

The most striking feature of *De potestate regia et papali*, or, perhaps more accurately the feature that has most struck modern historians and political theorists, is the explanation Jean offered for the origins and nature of temporal power. Jean's conception was based upon principles drawn from Aristotle's re-discovered *Politics* (available in a Latin translation by William of Moerbeke by the first half of 1265). This was mediated through the thought of another, rather better known, Dominican, Thomas Aquinas, although Jean's view of the relationship between the spiritual and temporal powers differed profoundly from that of Aquinas.¹¹⁵ *De potestate regia et papali* proposed that the temporal power was not simply an unfortunate consequence of the Fall, rather it was an institution which contributed to enabling man to live virtuously. Consequently Jean was led to consider how temporal power could best be exercised. His reflections on this problem were summed up in the concluding remarks to his discussion of the *Donation of Constantine*: 'Melius est tamen plures in pluribus regnis dominari quam unum toti mundo'.¹¹⁶

A preference for a world composed of multiple autonomous kingdoms rather than for subjection to one universal empire was an argument Jean had developed in the third chapter of *De potestate regia et papali*. His view, that 'non sic autem fideles laici habent ex iure divino quod subsint uni supremo monarche

¹¹¹ Compare with Coleman, 'Dominican political theory', pp. 188-89.

¹¹² Coleman, 'Dominican political theory', pp. 213-14.

¹¹³ For a recent example of the view that Jean represented a *via media*: J. P. Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought 350-1450* (New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 145.

¹¹⁴ Krynen, *L'Empire*, pp. 94-95.

¹¹⁵ M. F. Griesbach, 'John of Paris as a Representative of Thomistic Political Philosophy', in *An Étienne Gilson Tribute*, ed. by C. J. O'Neil (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1959), pp. 33-50 (pp. 43-48). Cf. F. J. Roensch, *Early Thomistic School* (Dubuque: Priory Press, 1964), p. 103.

¹¹⁶ *De potestate regia et papali*, chap. xxi, p. 247.

in temporalibus',¹¹⁷ was based on multiple points. It was partly justified by the difference between spiritual and temporal power. While it was both possible and necessary that there should exist one ruler in spiritual matters this was simply not the case in temporal affairs.¹¹⁸ For example, the communal nature of ecclesiastical property justified a single spiritual ruler; lay property, as it was neither acquired nor held communally, did not necessitate such a ruler.¹¹⁹ Fundamentally, multiple rulers were justified and necessary because of the diversity of both men and the climates in which they lived: 'Sed possunt secundum diversitatem climatum et linguarum et conditionum hominum esse diversi modi vivendi et diverse politie',¹²⁰ and because *quod virtuosum est in una gente non est virtuosum in alia*.¹²¹ In fact the existence of one ruler was positively detrimental to living virtuously: 'tempore imperatorum nunquam fuit mundus in tanta pace quanta fuit postea et ante'.¹²²

Stimulated by Philippe's dispute with Boniface, Jean's *De potestate regia et papali* appears to have provided a definitive answer to questions concerning not simply the relationship between France and the Empire, but also the nature of the Empire itself. Jean's case was not for a special exemption based on historical or legal reasons: it challenged the very idea that a universal ruler in temporal matters was either a good thing or a necessity. Jean's conclusions have been very often presented as the culmination of developments begun by the canonists and continued by the jurists.¹²³ They have been an important factor in forming the 'general consensus' of historians, as summarized by Antony Black that, 'internationalism was on the decline, and membership of a national or local unit was what increasingly counted'.¹²⁴ The question must be asked, though, whether Jean's contemporaries paid as much attention to his *De potestate regia et papali* as historians have done. In other words, was anyone actually listening to Jean Quidort and if they were did they accept, or even understand, what he had to say?

¹¹⁷ Ibid., chap. iii, p. 180.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., chap. iii, pp. 180–81.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., chap. iii, p. 181.

¹²⁰ Ibid., chap. iii, p. 181.

¹²¹ Ibid., chap. iii, p. 181.

¹²² Ibid., chap. xxi, p. 247.

¹²³ For example: Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 654–58.

¹²⁴ Black, p. 87. Black himself noted that, in spite of this, medieval Europe retained several 'international' institutions, not least of which was Canon law.

Jean Quidort's Perspective: A Success?

Jean Quidort enjoyed a reputation for holding somewhat heterodox opinions. It was in consequence of this reputation that it was 1304 before he received his degree in theology and was admitted to the Theology Faculty of the University of Paris.¹²⁵ His stay there was a short one: within a year his views on the Eucharist had resulted in his being censured by a commission headed by none other than Giles of Rome. This dispute, and Jean's death in 1306 while protesting his case at the papal curia, caught the imagination of both Jean de Saint-Victor,¹²⁶ who may even have been witness to Giles' inquiry,¹²⁷ and the Dionysians, whose interest was no doubt piqued by the presence of the Bishop of Orléans, Bertrand de Saint-Denis, *praececellens doctor*, amongst those who deprived Jean of his right to teach and forbade him to ever speak on the subject of the Eucharist again.¹²⁸ Evident throughout his career — an earlier work, his *Correctorium* 'Circa', was probably written primarily as a defence of his own orthodoxy¹²⁹ — Jean's tendency to court controversy gives an initial cause to question the extent to which his conception of temporal authority and the place of the Empire within it was a popular one or one which gained acceptance.

Jean's *De potestate regia et papali* did not remain unknown to contemporaries: it was employed by his fellow Dominican, and the sometime Patriarch of Jerusalem, Pierre de la Palud (d. 1342), when, as a master at the University of Paris, Pierre wrote his *De potestate papae* (c. 1317).¹³⁰ Jean's work

¹²⁵ The date Jean received his degree (and the details relating to the time and place of his death) are known from a notice Bernard Gui included in a list he drew up of Dominican masters of theology at Paris. For a transcript of the notice: *Jean de Paris*, ed. by Leclercq, p. 7. Roensch noted that sixteen of Jean's ideas relating to the Eucharist were censured while he was still a bachelor of theology. He suggested that even though Jean successfully defended himself this delayed his inception into the faculty: Roensch, p. 99.

¹²⁶ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 645.

¹²⁷ Guyot-Bachy, *Le 'Memoriale historiarum' de Jean de Saint-Victor*, p. 106.

¹²⁸ Second Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, 1, 347–48; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 25. The incident was of less interest to a later generation of Dionysians: it finds no place in the *Grandes Chroniques*.

¹²⁹ The work was never finished and it has been suggested that Jean lost interest in it after securing his degree: Cunningham, 'The "Real Distinction" in John Quidort', pp. 15–16.

¹³⁰ Dunbabin, *A Hound of God*, pp. 80–81, 83; J. Dunbabin, 'Hervé de Nédellec, Pierre de la Palud and France's Place in Christendom', in *Political Thought and the Realities of Power in the Middle Ages / Politisches Denken und die Wirklichkeit der Macht im*

may also have marked the thought of another French Dominican, Guillaume de Peyre de Godin (d. 1326).¹³¹ Nevertheless, whether as a consequence of the length and complexity of *De potestate regia et papali*, the air of controversy that dogged the heels of its author, or some other factor, there is little indication that Jean was read widely before the Great Schism, the period responsible for the greater part of the manuscript tradition.¹³² Jean's *De potestate regia et papali* appears to have enjoyed only an extremely limited circulation in the first half of the fourteenth century.¹³³ Only one extant manuscript of the work dates from this period¹³⁴ and the tract left no trace in contemporary library catalogues.¹³⁵ Yet it is not simply that Jean was not read: there is also evidence to suggest that other Aristotelian scholars in France, indeed in the University of Paris, developed a conception of the world quite different from that propounded in *De potestate regia et papali*.

It is striking that even those who undoubtedly perused Jean's *De potestate regia et papali* appear to have been reluctant to endorse certain of its arguments wholeheartedly. Pierre de la Palud, for example, chose to argue that the Roman Empire had lost its legitimacy when Arian emperors had begun to persecute Catholics. In doing so Pierre departed from Jean's view of the Empire, suggesting that prior to this persecution the Empire had been not only a legitimate institution, but, because it established peace, a necessary one.¹³⁶ Similarly, in seeking to demonstrate the independence of the French kingdom

Mittelalter, ed. by J. Canning and O. Gerhard Oexle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), pp. 159–72 (p. 165).

¹³¹ *Jean de Paris*, ed. by Leclercq, p. 153.

¹³² *Jean de Paris*, ed. by Leclercq, p. 151. For the thirty-four known manuscripts: C. N. Jones, 'Between Extremes? The Context and Purpose of the *De Potestate Regia et Papali* of John of Paris' (unpublished bachelor's dissertation, University of Durham, 1998), appendix, pp. 52–54.

¹³³ Compare with Chazan's view that it was *un réel succès*: *L'Empire*, p. 489. While it is possible *De potestate regia et papali* influenced the royal lawyer Pierre de Cuignières (d. c. 1347) in 1329, this is by no means as clear-cut as Chazan implied: *Jean de Paris*, ed. by Leclercq, p. 152. For Pierre's career, which featured a particularly notable defence of royal rights against ecclesiastical claims in 1329: Pegues, pp. 201–02.

¹³⁴ Paris, BnF, MS lat. 18288 (containing only *De potestate regia et papali*). The provenance prior to its entry into the collection of Notre-Dame de Paris is unclear: *Jean de Paris*, ed. by Leclercq, p. 168.

¹³⁵ *Jean de Paris*, ed. by Leclercq, pp. 151–52.

¹³⁶ Dunbabin, 'Hervé de Nédellec, Pierre de la Palud', p. 167.

from the Empire, Pierre, a man trained in canon and civil law as well as theology,¹³⁷ did not draw upon Jean Quidort's Aristotelian arguments but chose instead to argue a case for French exemption from imperial authority based primarily upon prescription. Indeed, Pierre went to great lengths to highlight that French kings had acted in good faith in order to demonstrate that the operation of the prescriptive mechanism should be considered valid in their particular case.¹³⁸

In the generation of masters that succeeded Jean Quidort's own at the University of Paris, Jean de Jandun, a member of the Arts Faculty, offers a clear example of the failure of the world view propounded in Jean's *De potestate regia et papali* to gain enthusiastic support. Writing his *Tractatus de Laudibus Parisius* in 1323, a whimsical work almost certainly intended to endear him to Charles le Bel, Jean declared that *monarchicum totius orbis dominium* pertained to *illustrissimis et precellentissimis Francie regibus*.¹³⁹ Jean de Jandun was certainly well acquainted with Aristotle and may even have prepared a commentary on the *Politics*.¹⁴⁰ Yet Jean's reading of Aristotle did not lead him to conclude that the idea of a universal Empire was one to be dispensed with, just as it did not lead his friend Marsilius of Padua, almost certainly another product of the Arts Faculty and certainly a man steeped in Parisian-Aristotelian thought,¹⁴¹ to such conclusions. Nevertheless, while it is not possible to demonstrate the direct influence of *De potestate regia et papali* beyond a rather limited impact within the Dominican order, there is evidence to suggest that the conception of the natural order of the world as a plurality of kingdoms was not exclusive to Jean Quidort.

In the first half of his *De recuperatione*, a work prepared for Edward I and Clement V,¹⁴² Pierre Dubois expounded an argument which came to conclusions very similar to those put forward in *De potestate regia et papali*,

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 165.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 168.

¹³⁹ *Tractatus de Laudibus Parisius*, p. 60.

¹⁴⁰ D. Luscombe, 'Commentaries on the *Politics*: Paris and Oxford, XIII-XVth centuries', in *L'Enseignement des disciplines à la Faculté des arts (Paris et Oxford, XIII^e-XV^e siècles)*, ed. by O. Weijers and L. Holtz (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 313-27 (p. 319).

¹⁴¹ Concerning the influence of the Arts Faculty and French circumstances more generally on Marsilius's thought, factors which, almost certainly, have been underestimated to date: Jones, 'The Context and Purpose of Marsilius of Padua's *Defensor pacis*', pp. 21-54.

¹⁴² Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', pp. 56, n. 28; 60, n. 37.

albeit imbued with the lawyer from Coutances' characteristic flair for the dramatic: 'Modo non est homo sane mentis, ut credo, qui estimare verisimiliter posset in hoc fine seculorum fieri posse quod esset totius mundi [sic], quoad temporalia, solus unus monarcha qui omnia regeret, cui tanquam superiori omnes obedirent'.¹⁴³ If there were to be a tendency towards such overlordship the result would almost certainly be *guerre, seditiones et dissensiones infinite*.¹⁴⁴ It is not impossible that Dubois acquired this opinion from reading Jean's *De potestate regia et papali*.¹⁴⁵ It seems more probable, however, that he was regurgitating ideas originally encountered in the Arts Faculty of the University of Paris, where he was a student sometime between 1269 and 1274.¹⁴⁶ It is unlikely that he acquired this idea from Aristotle's *Politics* directly, as the text never formed part of the official reading in the Arts Faculty.¹⁴⁷ It is more probable that he encountered such concepts in lectures or, possibly, from one of the various commentaries concerning the *Politics* that circulated in the faculty.¹⁴⁸ The question is not, however, where Dubois acquired this idea, so much as whether he had properly understood or accepted its implications.

Writing exclusively for Philippe IV some five or so years before, Dubois viewed matters somewhat differently. Although on historical grounds he considered that a universal empire had never actually existed,¹⁴⁹ Dubois did not think it impossible that universal temporal rule might be established. As a consequence of a favourable astronomical alignment over Paris, it would, Dubois had argued, be beneficial for the whole world to be subject to the French king.¹⁵⁰ He did not regard this as at all impractical: it was perfectly possible for Philippe to rule the greater part of the world through the use of his relatives and others. Should the King be at all concerned by the difficulties such a plan presented Dubois assured him: 'ymmo legitur nonnullos Romanos

¹⁴³ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 63, p. 54.

¹⁴⁴ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 63, p. 54. Also: *Deliberatio*, pp. 46–47.

¹⁴⁵ Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', p. 62, n. 49.

¹⁴⁶ Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', p. 50, n. 2.

¹⁴⁷ H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), i, 447.

¹⁴⁸ Jones, 'The Context and Purpose of Marsilius of Padua's *Defensor pacis*', pp. 42–44.

¹⁴⁹ *Deliberatio*, p. 45; *Supplication du pueuble de France*, p. 218; *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 63, p. 54.

¹⁵⁰ *Summaria brevis*, p. 11.

imperatores sic quam plura mundi regna et climata gubernasse'.¹⁵¹ His continued adherence to this view is testified to by his suggestion in the second part of *De recuperatione* that Philippe consult his earlier work on the topic.¹⁵²

An explanation for the apparent contradiction lies, at least in part, in the pragmatic approach of Dubois to the requirements of different audiences. A lengthy French occupation of parts of Gascony having only ended in 1303 and with the region remaining turbulent,¹⁵³ it would, for example, have been tactful to reassure Edward I that the distances separating peoples, local differences, and man's natural inclination towards strife, necessitated different rulers. Equally, while clearly the suggestion would have grossly offended Edward, the idea of establishing a French hegemony was one calculated to endear Dubois to the Capetians. Yet it also seems probable that the philosophical argument put to the English king and the Pope, while convenient, did not derive from Dubois's fundamental conception of how the world should be properly ordered. Firstly, it seems improbable, given his tendency to cite with approval two figures with completely disparate philosophical positions, his former lecturers Thomas Aquinas and Siger de Brabant, that Dubois had fully understood the philosophical argument he appropriated in the first part of *De recuperatione*.¹⁵⁴ Secondly, even if he had understood the wider implications of Aristotelian philosophy in the sense that Jean Quidort had understood them, these philosophical principles were not, essentially, the factor responsible for shaping Dubois's thought.

Jean Quidort, although a theologian, chose to cite legal arguments in support of his view that the French king was not subject to imperial authority. At the same time, his use of such arguments was relatively restricted and confined largely to repeating points that had been established by the jurists. The basic tenets upon which Jean's thought were founded were not legal arguments

¹⁵¹ *Summaria brevis*, p. 19.

¹⁵² *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 120, pp. 113–14.

¹⁵³ For the situation in Gascony in the later years of Edward I's reign: M. C. Prestwich, *Edward I*, 2nd edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 553.

¹⁵⁴ *Recovery of the Holy Land*, pp. 43–44. As SÁghy has highlighted recently, the almost certainly erroneous view that Dubois was a 'profound political philosopher' is still widely held: M. SÁghy, 'Crusade and Nationalism: Pierre Dubois, the Holy Land, and French Hegemony', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. by Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), pp. 43–50 (p. 44).

but a philosophical conception of the structure of the world. This is clearest from the fact that, ultimately, his dismissal of the legal case in favour of subjection to the Empire was not based upon legal arguments but upon philosophical ones.¹⁵⁵ Dubois, although a lawyer, cited arguments derived from Aristotelian philosophy. His use of them, however, was as limited and as restricted as Jean Quidort's use of legal argument. Given Dubois's profession, it is perhaps less than surprising that he generally exhibited a marked preference for legal arguments. For example, the essence of his case in the *Deliberatio* was that Boniface had violated laws relating to property.¹⁵⁶ Similarly, the plan he proposed to Philippe IV in his *Summaria brevis* for curbing ecclesiastical encroachments upon lay jurisdiction was essentially based upon the technicalities of prescription.¹⁵⁷ It may be suggested that it was upon legal conceptions, not philosophical ones, that Dubois's thought in general had its foundations.

The most persuasive proof that Dubois's conception of the world was underpinned by the *Corpus iuris civilis* rather than the *Politics* was the fact that he was unable to imagine a properly ordered world in which there did not exist a supreme arbiter of temporal affairs who was also responsible for the reform of secular law even if, for practical reasons, he envisioned this authority to be vested in the papacy rather than the emperor.¹⁵⁸ The problem of proving the independence of the French king from imperial authority was no exception: it was upon Dubois's understanding of the legal mechanism of prescription, a mechanism which gave rise to a special case for French exemption, that his view rested, not upon Aristotelian ideas.¹⁵⁹ Someone who appears to have applied the implications of Aristotelianism to his thought more fully than Dubois, but not in quite the same sense as Jean Quidort, was the historian, Jean de Saint-Victor.

¹⁵⁵ *De potestate regia et papali*, chap. xxi, p. 247.

¹⁵⁶ J. Rivière, *Le problème de l'Église et de l'État au temps de Philippe le Bel. Étude de théologie positive* (Paris: Champion, 1926), p. 105.

¹⁵⁷ Krynen, *L'Empire*, pp. 254–55.

¹⁵⁸ Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', pp. 82–87.

¹⁵⁹ Compare with Krynen's judgement: 'Soit qu'il se manifeste sans détour, soit qu'il autorise la quête de nouveaux arguments de 'raison', l'aristotélisme constitue le support doctrinal essentiel des défenseurs de Philippe le Bel', *L'Empire*, p. 93.

Although the abbey of Saint-Victor enjoyed close links with the university,¹⁶⁰ the author of the *Memoriale historiarum* was almost certainly a special case. Isabelle Guyot-Bachy has proposed that the knowledge of the university displayed by Jean de Saint-Victor, in particular of its debates and its masters, indicates that his attachment to the institution was of a very personal nature.¹⁶¹ Mireille Chazan has gone further and suggested that he may even be identifiable with a contemporary member of the Theology Faculty.¹⁶² Whether or not this latter is the case it does seem probable, given his knowledge of the work of Giles of Rome, that he was, at the very least, the pupil of the man whose ideas Jean Quidort had vigorously debunked.¹⁶³ It is notable that Jean de Saint-Victor cited all the works composed by Giles during the period in which the latter taught at Paris (1285–95). It may also be significant that, from 1291/2–94, Giles, as the prior-general of the Hermits of Saint-Augustine, was the Victorines's close neighbour.¹⁶⁴ The re-discovered Aristotle, as important to Giles as it was to Jean Quidort,¹⁶⁵ seems to have left its mark upon Jean de Saint-Victor's perception of the Empire. Like his contemporaries, Jean's

¹⁶⁰ From the end of the twelfth century the canons performed pastoral duties for the university's students and in 1237 their school was integrated into the university proper: *Traité de la division des royaumes*, ed. and trans. by Guyot-Bachy and Poirel, p. 7.

¹⁶¹ Guyot-Bachy, *Le 'Memoriale historiarum' de Jean de Saint-Victor*, pp. 100–11.

¹⁶² Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 388–89. Cf. Guyot-Bachy, *Le 'Memoriale historiarum' de Jean de Saint-Victor*, pp. 101–04.

¹⁶³ Guyot-Bachy, *Le 'Memoriale historiarum' de Jean de Saint-Victor*, pp. 102–03.

¹⁶⁴ Guyot-Bachy, *Le 'Memoriale historiarum' de Jean de Saint-Victor* p. 102. On Giles' career: Scholz, pp. 32–45.

¹⁶⁵ That Giles' best known work, his *De ecclesiastica potestate*, was written from the perspective of a papal hierocrat in defence of a traditionally 'Augustinian' interpretation of the proper organization of the world should not blind us to the author's familiarity with Aristotle. It is very possible Giles was himself a student of Thomas Aquinas and his early work, the *De regimine principum* (c. 1280 and dedicated to the future Philippe IV) clearly demonstrates Giles' knowledge of both the *Politics* and the *Nicomachean Ethics*: Dyson, *On Ecclesiastical Power*, pp. xi–xii. Giles was by no means the only writer to be familiar with and employ Aristotelian ideas while defending a position less radical than the disciples of Aquinas. One other such case is Giles' contemporary, the Franciscan John Pecham (Archbishop of Canterbury 1279–92) who employed Aristotle in refuting Aquinas: T. Crowley, 'John Pecham, O.F.M., Archbishop of Canterbury, Versus the New Aristotelianism', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 33 (1950), 242–55 (p. 254). As Crowley notes, the 'Augustinians' claimed the patronage of Aristotle just as much as those more commonly thought of today as 'Aristotelians': Crowley, 'John Pecham', pp. 243–44.

outlook also appears to have been marked by the political upheaval of the first decade of the fourteenth century.

When Jean began the redaction of the *Memoriale* in approximately 1302¹⁶⁶ he prefaced his work with a short treatise on the origins of kingdoms. This original introduction, although it probably enjoyed some small circulation, survives in only one manuscript dating from the first third of the fourteenth century.¹⁶⁷ Probably after 1307,¹⁶⁸ but undoubtedly before May 1308 — a *terminus ad quem* established by an absence of references to Henry VII and the inclusion of a comment that Albrecht of Habsburg was presently reigning¹⁶⁹ — Jean came to the decision to re-write completely and expand his work. Jean had noted in his first introduction that he intended the *Memoriale* to be of particular use to those who sought a guide to the period between Julius Caesar, according to Jean the first Roman emperor, and the present day.¹⁷⁰ The second version of the *Memoriale* was, he claimed, still to concentrate upon history from Caesar,¹⁷¹ but its new introduction set the contents in a rather different context. Jean's original prologue had given a brief sketch of the development of kingdoms from the Flood up until the foundation of Rome and a few short histories of the origins of certain peoples, including the Franks. The *Tractatus de divisione regnorum*, with which he now prefaced the work, gave a series of geographical descriptions and snapshot histories of a much-expanded list of kingdoms, histories which he now continued up to his own day. The most striking feature of this new version was the changed approach Jean adopted to the Roman Empire.

In his original prologue Jean had sketched the history of the kingdom he termed that of the Latins or the Albans (named after the town of Alba Longa founded by Ascanius the legendary first king after Aeneas) up until the inception of the *regnum Romanorum*. The latter replaced the former at the time of Romulus's foundation of Rome.¹⁷² The *Memoriale* appeared, then, to be conceived as a universal history following the intellectual model established in

¹⁶⁶ *Traité de la division des royaumes*, ed. and trans. by Guyot-Bachy and Poiriel, p. 17.

¹⁶⁷ *Traité de la division des royaumes*, ed. and trans. by Guyot-Bachy and Poiriel, pp. 13–14.

¹⁶⁸ Schmidt-Chazan, 'L'Idée d'empire dans le *Memoriale historiarum*', p. 302, n. 6.

¹⁶⁹ *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), 236.

¹⁷⁰ *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (I), 72.

¹⁷¹ *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), 116, 280.

¹⁷² *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (I), 82.

the chronicle of the early-twelfth-century monk of Liège, Sigebert de Gembloux, Jean's principal source. Here the necessity of the existence of the Roman Empire was a central theme.¹⁷³ The Roman Empire became the central axis of temporal affairs, the 'history of the Empire' becoming, in effect, synonymous with 'history'. This was the approach adopted by earlier writers who had used Sigebert's chronicle as a base, both those writing prior to Frederick II's deposition, such as Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, for whom the idea was reinforced by the use of Otto of Freising,¹⁷⁴ and those writing after it, such as Vincent de Beauvais and Guillaume de Nangis.¹⁷⁵

The *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* deliberately sought to wreck Sigebert's vision of history.¹⁷⁶ It was not simply that it extended Jean's introductory remarks beyond the foundation of the *regnum Romanorum*. More fundamentally, Jean considered the history of the Roman Empire to have concluded. The *Tractatus* rounded off its new summary of Roman history with a tally of the number of years the Empire had lasted and when precisely it had come to an end:

et tunc, scilicet tempore Iulii, magis roboratum est imperium, durans abhinc usque ad deposicionem F[r]ederici annis MCCXCII, et in summa a principio regni, scilicet primo anno Iani, usque ad annum ultimum Frederici sub regibus Latinis, Albanis, Silviis, Romanis consulibus et imperatoribus cucurrit per annos circiter II^MDLXXII.¹⁷⁷

Jean added to this not only a sketch of the kingdoms and political units which had arisen since the time of Christ, in spite of the existence of the Empire — a theme possibly embryonic in the original prologue¹⁷⁸ — but also comments relating to those which had led an independent existence since the end of the Empire, most notably Germany.¹⁷⁹ Jean's point was simple: the Roman Empire was no different from the empire of Alexander. Both had begun and both had ended. Both were part of the continuous process of the *divisio regnorum*.

¹⁷³ Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 187–89, 639.

¹⁷⁴ Aubri's use of Otto was unique in northern France: *ibid.*, pp. 672–75.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 687, 691.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 692–96.

¹⁷⁷ *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), 144.

¹⁷⁸ *Traité de la division des royaumes*, ed. and trans. by Guyot-Bachy and Poiriel, p. 54.

¹⁷⁹ *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), 236.

The influence of Isidore of Seville's work upon Jean's *Tractatus* is marked.¹⁸⁰ This was not the result of an encounter with a new source; Jean had used Isidore when preparing his first prologue.¹⁸¹ Rather, it was a case of reading an old source in the light of revised intentions. Amongst the extracts taken from Isidore that Jean integrated into the second version of his prologue were a series of sketches of the geographies and climates of kingdoms, an example being that he added to his notice concerned with the kingdom of Spain.¹⁸² A desire to illustrate the climates of individual kingdoms probably shared a common origin with Jean's concept of *divisio regnorum*. It may have been intended to provide tangible evidence of the existence of multiple climates in support of the Aristotelian proposition, highlighted by Jean Quidort and Pierre Dubois, that such diversity necessitated multiple rulers.

It seems probable, given Jean's connection with the University of Paris, that it was an outlook based upon Aristotelian concepts that facilitated his break with Sigebert's theory of history and his development of a world view in which a single ruler in temporal affairs was no longer necessary. At the same time Jean did not adopt one of the basic tenets of Jean Quidort's Aristotelianism, that is that the exercise of temporal authority was natural and could lead men to live virtuously. After the Flood, certain men, the stronger, usurped lordship over others and, taking the name 'king', made these others submit to their authority: *Hoc autem fecit ambicio, non natura*.¹⁸³ This underlines the problem of overstating Jean Quidort's influence.¹⁸⁴ The Victorine again differed from the Dominican in that he was not opposed to the existence of empires.

Jean de Saint-Victor pointed out that many previously independent peoples, such as the Burgundians,¹⁸⁵ had come under the domination of the French. Kingdoms which extended their authority at the expense of other kingdoms or peoples did not, in Jean's view, necessarily contradict the natural order of the

¹⁸⁰ *Traité de la division des royaumes*, ed. and trans. by Guyot-Bachy and Poiré, p. 42.

¹⁸¹ *Traité de la division des royaumes*, ed. and trans. by Guyot-Bachy and Poiré, p. 45.

¹⁸² *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), 272. Cf. *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (I), 106.

¹⁸³ *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), 122.

¹⁸⁴ Compare with Guyot-Bachy, *Le 'Memoriale historiarum' de Jean de Saint-Victor*, p. 411. Even if it were to be accepted that Jean wrote his *Tractatus* 'sans doute après avoir eu connaissance des thèses de Jean de Paris [Quidort]', it would need to be added that he did not necessarily agree with the Dominican master's thought.

¹⁸⁵ *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), 262.

world¹⁸⁶ and there is little reason to think, as Guyot-Bachy did, that he tacitly denied that the Capetians might become universal rulers.¹⁸⁷ Even were such a universal empire to come into existence, however, it would simply be the creation of yet another chronologically finite kingdom which might, at a later date, come to be divided. In fact, Jean appears to have differed from another writer who drew upon Aristotelian ideas, Pierre Dubois, in that he believed that at one point the Roman Empire had been universal and that the whole world, including the Franks, had been subject to it.¹⁸⁸ More fundamentally, Jean parted company with Jean Quidort in that he believed that, for theological reasons, such universal rule had once been necessary. Chazan has suggested plausibly that, in Jean de Saint-Victor's view, the Roman Empire had had a role to play in the history of salvation: it established universal peace at a certain point in history in order to enable the birth of Christ in a period of peace and to facilitate the spread of the Church. This function fulfilled it again became subject to the same principles as other kingdoms and began to be divided.¹⁸⁹ The question remains, though, as to why Jean de Saint-Victor had, in the first place, felt it necessary to demolish the traditional pre-eminence accorded to the Empire by writers of universal history, a pre-eminence to which there is every indication, given the structure of his first prologue, that he himself originally subscribed.

Pierre Dubois and various pamphleteers had resolved the potential problems posed by the French king's relationship with the emperor by establishing complex legal and historical arguments for French exemption from imperial authority. These authors had been led to address this issue by the efforts made by the papacy in the course of the dispute between Boniface and Philippe to use imperial authority as a tool for subduing the French king. Although Isabelle Guyot-Bachy believed that the Bonifacian dispute left only *un écho lointain* in the *Memoriale*,¹⁹⁰ it seems extremely probable that it was the same circumstances that stimulated Jean de Saint-Victor, between 1302 and 1307, to re-assess the position that the Empire would occupy in his history.

That Jean dissented from the papal position is suggested by the absence of the *De ecclesiastica potestate* from the list he gave of Giles of Rome's works. In a

¹⁸⁶ Compare with Chazan who suggests that the *Memoriale* adopted Jean Quidort's position on the desirability and practicality of empires: *L'Empire*, p. 694.

¹⁸⁷ Guyot-Bachy, *Le 'Memoriale historiarum' de Jean de Saint-Victor*, p. 411.

¹⁸⁸ Schmidt-Chazan, 'L'Idée d'empire dans le *Memoriale historiarum*', p. 304.

¹⁸⁹ Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 694.

¹⁹⁰ Guyot-Bachy, *Le 'Memoriale historiarum' de Jean de Saint-Victor*, p. 407.

list which otherwise tended towards being exhaustive, such a striking omission was, as Guyot-Bachy suggested, likely to have reflected a divergence of views.¹⁹¹ It is possible that Jean's position was inspired by the Abbot of Saint-Victor, Guillaume de Rebais (1302–11), a signatory to the act calling for the arraignment of the Pope and himself present at the 24 June 1303 assembly held in the gardens of the Palais de la Cité at which royal officers denounced the Pope in no uncertain terms.¹⁹² It is unlikely that, as Jean's abbot, Guillaume did not play some role in the decision to re-start the *Memoriale*.¹⁹³

In a turbulent atmosphere, in which Philippe's decision to arrest the Templars drew an angry reaction from Pope Clement V, as did royal plans to continue the vendetta against the now deceased Boniface,¹⁹⁴ Jean de Saint-Victor drafted a second version of his prologue to demonstrate that there existed no *de iure* temporal authority superior to that of the French king, and in particular that the old papal argument that Philippe might be reprimanded by an emperor carried no weight.¹⁹⁵ Like the solution proffered by Jean Quidort, Jean de Saint-Victor's was a more radical answer to the problem than that adopted by Dubois or the anonymous pamphleteers. The Victorine's understanding of history meant that there was no need to establish the existence of an 'exemption clause' for the French kingdom.

Jean freely admitted that he had no knowledge of the origins or end of the kingdom of Germany, except in so much as these related to the kingdom of the Romans.¹⁹⁶ Yet if the line of emperors had ended, that of German kings had

¹⁹¹ Guyot-Bachy, *Le 'Memoriale historiarum' de Jean de Saint-Victor*, p. 408.

¹⁹² Concerning Guillaume's involvement in the Franco-papal dispute: *ibid.*, pp. 82–84. Regarding the assembly: C.-V. Langlois, 'Une réunion publique à Paris, sous Philippe le Bel, 24 juin 1303', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, 15 (1888), 130–34. In addition to Jean de Saint-Victor's own description of the meeting we also have that prepared by the Frescobaldi for the Earl of Pembroke, Aymer de Valence. The latter is edited as part of Langlois's article, but a more recent edition appears in: J. Coste, *Boniface VIII en procès. Articles d'accusation et dépositions des témoins (1303-1311)* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1995), p. 192.

¹⁹³ *Traité de la division des royaumes*, ed. and trans. by Guyot-Bachy and Poiriel, p. 21.

¹⁹⁴ Menache, *Clement*, pp. 172–246.

¹⁹⁵ Compare with Guyot-Bachy's view: 'Parce que son objectif n'est pas d'écrire une oeuvre de propagande [in comparaison with Jean Quidort], il ne met nommément en cause ni le pape ni l'empereur', *Le 'Memoriale historiarum' de Jean de Saint-Victor*, p. 409.

¹⁹⁶ 'De regno autem Alemannie seu Germanie sciendum quod eius originem vel finem non legi nisi cum Romanorum regno', *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), 236.

not. The single characteristic Jean felt it necessary to emphasize in relation to these latter was that, whatever else they might be, they were not Roman emperors: 'Postquam tamen imperium Romanorum defecit deposito Frederico, fuerunt Alemannie reges, sed non imperatores Romani [...]'.¹⁹⁷ The question of France being subject to the Empire in the present day on legal grounds therefore became irrelevant: since the deposition of Frederick II, there was simply no longer a Roman Empire. Even if it had still existed, the fact that the ancestors of the French had once been subject to the Empire, an unavoidable necessity that had enabled the birth of Christ and the spread of Christianity, would have in no way implied that they continued to be so in the present day. Henry VII's election within months of the completion of the *Tractatus* was an unforeseen event which clearly disrupted certain key elements in Jean's portrait. While Henry's reign, which Jean went on to chronicle in his *Memoriale*, would have almost certainly led to further changes if the prologue had been re-drafted, it did not change Jean's fundamental point: empires, although perfectly valid institutions while they existed, were, with the exception of the Roman Empire at the time of Christ, quite arbitrary affairs.

The circulation of Jean's *Tractatus* was almost certainly greater than that enjoyed by the work of Jean Quidort and Pierre Dubois (all of whose works survive in no more than one copy),¹⁹⁸ or by the *Quaestio in utramque partem* (only one contemporary copy of which remains extant),¹⁹⁹ *Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem*,²⁰⁰ and *Rex pacificus*.²⁰¹ At the same time the popularity of

¹⁹⁷ *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), 236.

¹⁹⁸ The *Summaria brevis* remains extant in one fifteenth-century manuscript: Paris, BnF, MS lat., 6222 c; *De recuperatione terre sancte* in one fourteenth-century manuscript: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat., MS 1642; the remainder survive in the royal register Paris, BnF, MS lat., 10919. For further detail see Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', pp. 51, n. 11; 58, n. 31, n. 32.

¹⁹⁹ The manuscript is prior to 1318 and preserved in a collection compiled by Pierre d'Étampes, Philippe IV's keeper of the royal archives, Paris, Archives nationales, JJ. 28. All other copies are late-fourteenth- or fifteenth-century: *Three Royalist Tracts* ed. by Dyson, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv. Although separated since at least the nineteenth century, Paris, Archives nationales JJ. 28 and BnF, lat. 10919 (see previous note) are closely related, were originally both compiled under Pierre's direction, and were catalogued as Registers XXVIII and XXIX, respectively, by the 1370s.

²⁰⁰ The earliest manuscripts date from the late-fourteenth century: *Three Royalist Tracts* ed. by Dyson, p. xxii.

²⁰¹ Extant in three fourteenth-century manuscripts: *Rex pacificus*, p. xvi.

the *Memoriale* appears to have been limited.²⁰² While, in part, this was the consequence of several practical factors,²⁰³ it is also questionable whether Jean's perspective, or indeed many of the other arguments born essentially of the dispute between Philippe and Boniface, gained widespread acceptance. Notably, even those who made use of the *Memoriale*, such as the continuers of Pierre Honoré's *Grandes Chroniques*, do not seem to have taken great interest in Jean's vision of history. The compilers adapted and translated only the small portion of Jean's text relevant to contemporary history with the intention of completing their version of the *Grandes Chroniques*. The attitude adopted by the same compilers towards the *Donation of Constantine* is also instructive.

In 1300 Pierre Dubois had seen the *Donation* as a useful instrument by which the authority of the French king might be expanded.²⁰⁴ By 1302 circumstances had forced Dubois to approach the topic from the rather different perspective of defending the French king's independence.²⁰⁵ The complete absence of the *Donation* from his second attempt to elucidate an all-encompassing scheme for the expansion of royal authority, the second part of *De recuperatione*, suggests that in the light of the Bonifacian quarrel Dubois had simply come to consider that Constantine's grant had become more trouble than it was worth.²⁰⁶ This attitude does not seem to have lasted long beyond the aftermath of the Franco-papal dispute. The continuation of Pierre Honoré's *Grandes Chroniques* referred, for example, to Constantine's donation of *l'Empire a possider a touz jours* in its account of Pope John XXII's case against Ludwig of Bavaria.²⁰⁷ Such references were by no means exclusive to the non-Dionysian tradition.

The version of the *Grandes Chroniques* prepared at the abbey in the 1340s made use of the *Donation* not only in its account of Pope John's case against Ludwig²⁰⁸ but also to justify Charles d'Anjou's conquest of Sicily.²⁰⁹ Although

²⁰² Of twelve pre-sixteenth-century manuscripts of the second version of the *Memoriale* only five are fourteenth-century: Samaran, 'Jean de Saint-Victor', pp. 27–31; *Traité de la division des royaumes*, ed. and trans. by Guyot-Bachy and Poirel, p. 63.

²⁰³ Guyot-Bachy, *Le 'Memoriale historiarum' de Jean de Saint-Victor*, p. 468–73.

²⁰⁴ *Summaria brevis*, p. 12.

²⁰⁵ *Deliberatio*, p. 46.

²⁰⁶ Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', pp. 68–69.

²⁰⁷ *RHGF*, xxi, 684.

²⁰⁸ *Grandes Chroniques*, ix, 37–38.

²⁰⁹ *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 233.

the scriptorium did, in the former case, feel it necessary to qualify Constantine's gift as *parties d'Occident*, this was hardly the *Quaestio in utramque partem*'s vigorous attack upon the *Donation*'s very validity or Jean de Saint-Victor's proposal that the act was strictly limited to the Lateran and the city of Rome.²¹⁰

Whether they were members of the Parisian *ateliers*, preparing works for the nobility and their officials, or of the Dionysian scriptorium, drafting a version of history better suited to the royal perspective of the day, fourteenth-century compilers of the *Grandes Chroniques*, and presumably their audiences, clearly found little to object to in the *Donation*. The reason was simply that once the shadow of the Bonifacian dispute had passed the controversy that surrounded the *Donation* similarly dissipated: it could be employed in multiple contexts without the tedious necessity of proving that it did not apply to France. While the arguments produced by the Franco-papal dispute clearly continued to influence some in northern France, such as Jean Faure, this revival in the use of the *Donation* appears emblematic of the limited extent to which they impacted upon wider perceptions in the French cultural milieu.

There is little reason to believe that, for the majority of the inhabitants of northern France, the essence of Henry VII's claim to be lord of the world would have been considered unacceptable provided one condition was met. As Philippe IV made clear in his reply to Henry's coronation encyclical, the point that mattered was that imperial jurisdiction should not be considered to extend over the kingdom of France. It was quite possible therefore that imperial jurisdiction might be considered to extend, *de iure* at least, over the rest of the world. Such a view would have found a particularly sympathetic audience amongst French jurists. The problem with adopting a solution of the sort Jean Quidort or Jean de Saint-Victor proposed was that to do so would deprive the French kingdom of one of its claims to uniqueness, a parity with an otherwise unique institution, the Roman Empire. Yet, at the same time, the Empire was clearly considered to be similar to a kingdom in the sense that the practical temporal jurisdiction of its ruler was finite.

As will be seen in the following chapter, a conception of the Empire as a limited territorial institution was not a view that had originated in the course of Philippe IV's dispute with the Pope, but one which had underpinned French perceptions of the Empire throughout the thirteenth century. It may be suggested that the Bonifacian disputes of 1296–1303 lent new clarity to this

²¹⁰ Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 507.

perspective but that, in fact, they changed French conceptions of the Empire and its ruler very little. At the same time, as Pierre Dubois and indeed Jean de Saint-Victor aptly demonstrated, the idea that a universal temporal authority was perceived to have a role to play in a properly ordered world was a persistent one. In the case of the Empire and its ruler this role was not necessarily connected with the exercise of universal temporal jurisdiction. In consequence, the perception of the Empire as an institution of finite temporal jurisdiction did not, for the majority of the inhabitants of northern France, necessarily preclude the emperor remaining *dominus mundi*.

In 1254, in the course of returning from the crusade, Joinville had noted Louis IX's reluctance to disembark at Hyères in the county of Provence. Opposed by his queen and council, the King responded that he would not leave his ship *jeusques a tant que il venroit a Aigue Morte, qui estoit en sa terre*.¹ Eventually, the King decided to back down and await horses *a venir en France*.² The lengthy notice Joinville devoted to this episode suggests that he considered it important and an example of Louis's saintliness, or, at the very least, an example of kingly good practice. Louis had compromised a point of principle: in the end he was convinced that by refusing to disembark he was risking not only his own safety but that of his wife and children.³ The King's lack of enthusiasm is all the more striking because Provence was his brother's county and could hardly be considered hostile territory. Three generations of Angevin counts and the passing of almost a century did little to modify an acute awareness of the distinction between the French kingdom and the county of Provence. In giving an account of Philippe VI's visit to Marseille, which took place in the course of the King's tour of the Languedoc in the 1330s, the Dionysian Richard Lescot, followed by the *Grandes Chroniques* prepared at the abbey in the 1340s, highlighted that the inhabitants received the King with great reverence and honour although they were not under his *seignourie*.⁴

¹ *Livre des saintes paroles*, § 652, p. 324.

² *Ibid.*, § 655, p. 324.

³ *Ibid.*, § 654, p. 324.

⁴ '[. . .] quamvis non essent sub ejus dominio, receptus est cum tanta reverentia et honore', *Chronique de Richard Lescot*, pp. 39–40; *Grandes Chroniques*, ix, 153.

Amongst the arguments offered in favour of French autonomy, the author of *Rex pacificus* included the idea that imperial authority came to an end at a defined, fixed, and longstanding border with the French kingdom.⁵ The idea that certain regions were *in imperio* was by no means unique to *Rex pacificus*, a treatise produced in the midst of the Bonifacian controversy, and was a commonplace throughout the first half of the fourteenth century. Such terminology was to be found in a *pouillé* (an account of ecclesiastical goods) for the diocese of Reims compiled between 1303 and 1312, in an account of the 1346 tenth for the same diocese, in the 1320 *Livre de la Droiture de Donchery*, and in *L'Estat de la Comté de Rethel*, compiled between 1351 and 1364.⁶ Jean de Saint-Victor,⁷ followed by the 1340s Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques*,⁸ made use of the phrases *in imperio* and *en l'Empire*, respectively, in geographical descriptions of a county. Under 1339, the *Grandes Chroniques* spoke of Philippe VI having missed the opportunity to confront Edward III on one occasion *comme il* [Philippe] *ne vousist pas entrer es termes de l'Empire*.⁹

The recognition of a division between kingdom and Empire was as evident in the thirteenth century as in the fourteenth. If the status of Provence was a case over which few doubts arose,¹⁰ the question of what precisely could be considered to be *in imperio* and what could be regarded as *in regno* became increasingly contentious in the course of the thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. The solutions found to justify the practical expansion of French authority at the expense of that claimed by rulers of the Empire, and the principles upon which these solutions were based, provide a further window onto French perceptions of the nature of the Empire as an institution.

⁵ '[...] immo, sunt certi limites, et fuerunt a tempore ex quo non extat memoria, per quos regnum et imperium dividuntur.', *Rex pacificus*, p. 37.

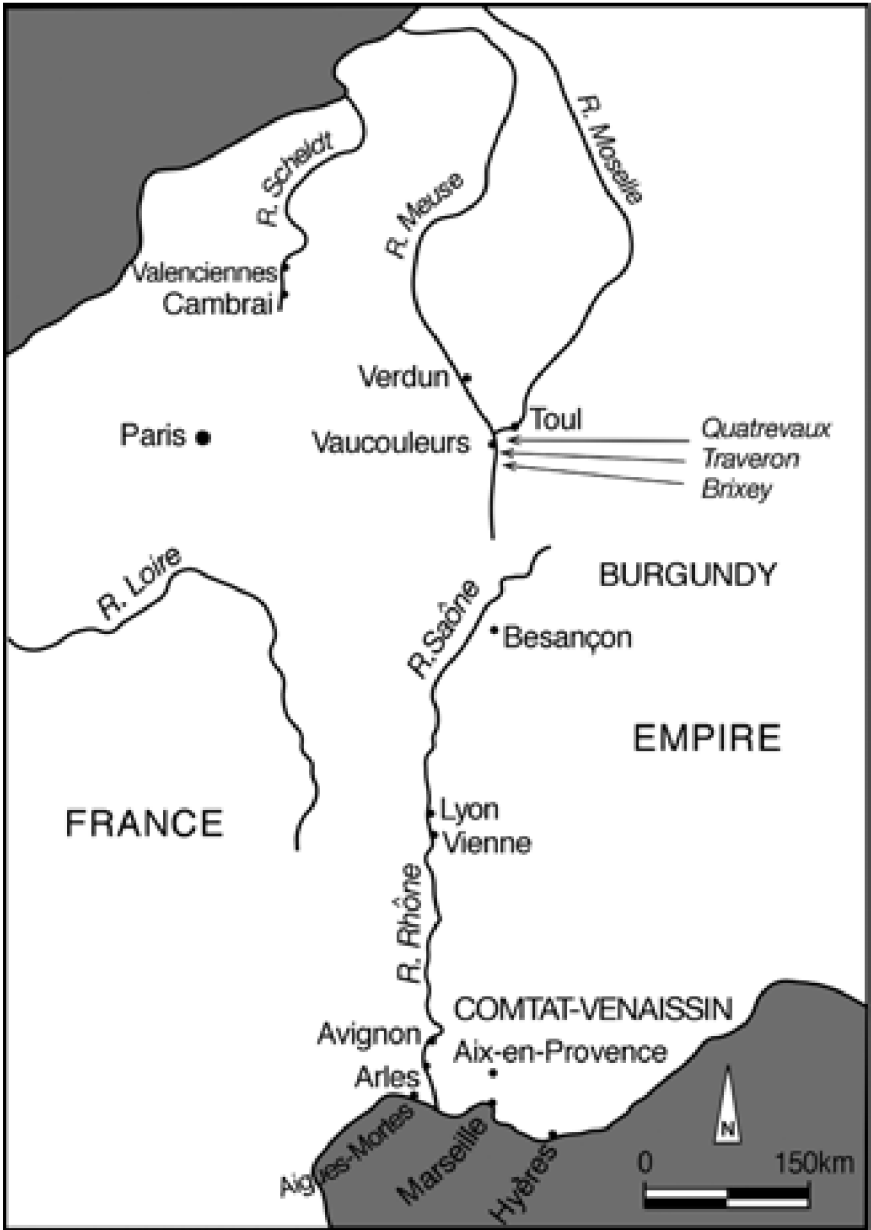
⁶ D. Collinet, 'La frontière d'Empire dans l'Argonne et l'Ardenne', *Revue d'Ardenne et d'Argonne*, 11 (1903), 1–10.

⁷ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 673.

⁸ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 355.

⁹ *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 172.

¹⁰ Primat's suggestion that Charles d'Anjou had done homage to Philippe III for Provence is anomalous: *Chronique de Primat*, p. 61.



Map 2: The Franco-Imperial Border Region (c. 1300). Cartography: Marney Brosnan, Department of Geography, University of Canterbury, Christchurch.
© Chris Jones.

Finding Boundaries

The origin and general definition of the boundaries of the French kingdom, and indeed of any other kingdoms, was not the subject of great consideration in France. Jean de Saint-Victor's concept of *divisio regnorum* implied that such boundaries were established, and changed, arbitrarily. This view may have been endorsed to some extent by the French baronage, who, in their 1246 complaint against ecclesiastical abuses, had argued that the kingdom had been acquired not through any legal mechanism or ecclesiastical concession but through brute force and warfare.¹¹ A conception of boundaries as essentially both fluid and arbitrary may also have informed Rigord's earlier claim that Philippe Auguste was keen to augment and expand his kingdom, although it may be a mistake to interpret Rigord's statement as an indication of the King's open-ended ambitions or, indeed, as Rigord's perception that those ambitions were unrestricted.¹² Caution should also be exercised in judging the significance of the Dionysian's decision to bestow the title 'Augustus' on his subject.¹³ Rigord specifically connected Philippe's epithet, which he explained was the customary title bestowed on Caesars who augmented the *res publica*, with Philippe's acquisition of Vermandois and 'many other lands'.¹⁴ As will become clear, Rigord, and perhaps even Philippe himself, may have considered Philippe's conquests not to have been of lands to which the French king had no previous right but, like Vermandois — which Rigord noted had for a long time escaped the authority of Philippe's predecessors — lands which *ought* properly to be subject to French royal authority but which had somehow evaded it. Rigord's use of the epithet may have been simply a recognition of the extent of Philippe's achievements in recovering such lands. As such it may have been a title

¹¹ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vi, 467–68 (November 1246).

¹² Rigord's comments occur in the course of an account of Philippe's decision to build a wall around the Bois de Vincennes. These remarks preface a description of a menagerie sent to Philippe by the English king Henry II and subsequently housed at Vincennes. In this context, the meaning of 'augment and expand' is, at the very least, ambiguous: 'Eodem igitur tempore, Philippus Augustus Francorum rex, de augmento et ampliacione regni sollicitus, nemus Vicenarum quod toto tempore predecessorum suorum fuerat disclusum et omnibus transeuntibus olim fuerat patens et pervium muro optimo circumcingi fecit', Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, chap. 20, pp. 160–62.

¹³ Gabrielle Spiegel notes that Rigord was the first to give Philippe II this epithet: *Past as Text*, p. 132.

¹⁴ Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, chap. 2, p. 118.

employed in much the same manner as Guillaume le Breton, composing his *Philippide*, would later draw flattering comparisons between Philippe's achievements and those of the archetypal conqueror of Antiquity, Alexander the Great. It seems unlikely that the latter comparisons were intended to set out a political programme: they were a means of conveying the scale of Philippe's accomplishments to the poem's audience.¹⁵

Whether or not Rigord's view of the nature of boundaries accorded with that of Louis IX's barons, the late-thirteenth century *Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem* gave no indication of the precise location of present boundaries, but implied, somewhat differently from the barons, that, at least in the particular case of the French kingdom and the Empire, these had not been established arbitrarily but by agreement. This point was implicit in the link that the Knight drew between the present *termini* of France and the Empire and the division agreed by Charlemagne's grandsons.¹⁶ The idea that boundaries were settled by agreement was probably a viewpoint that was more widely accepted than that adopted by Louis IX's incensed barons or Jean de Saint-Victor.

The question of what constituted a 'frontier' or a 'border' in the medieval world is undoubtedly a complex one. Historians have tended to move away from the nineteenth-century conviction that the inhabitants of medieval Europe could think of their world as delineated by simple lines on a map, in much the same way that a world of independent 'nation-states' can be depicted. The concept of a 'frontier' can be interpreted in a variety of ways, and, even restricted to the idea of a 'political boundary', clearly meant different things to different people at different times.¹⁷ One such contemporary conception of boundaries was informed by the perceived limits of jurisdiction. Where such borders existed they did not necessarily take great account of economic, military, or even cultural considerations, although, as Norman Schlesser has noted, this does not mean they necessarily proved unduly disruptive of social

¹⁵ Compare with the view of, for example, Jim Bradbury, who considered Rigord's epithet one of several indications of the king's desire to present an 'imperial image': p. 220. Concerning the comparison Guillaume drew between Philippe and Alexander: Baldwin, pp. 366–67.

¹⁶ *Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem*, p. 42.

¹⁷ For a useful overview of some of the types of 'frontiers' that existed within and on the periphery of medieval European society: D. Abulafia, 'Introduction: Seven Types of Ambiguity, c. 1100–c. 1500', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. by D. Abulafia and N. Berend (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 1–34

and economic life.¹⁸ It is the idea of a clear 'jurisdictional' boundary which we seem to encounter most frequently in thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century French perceptions of the frontier between the Empire and the French kingdom. In this, the Franco-imperial border region of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century may have been something of an exception to the medieval European norm.¹⁹

When contemplated in their widest sense, the borders of the French kingdom, that is the ultimate extent of the jurisdiction exercised by the French king, tended to be defined in terms of rivers or at least considered to follow the guidelines offered by rivers.²⁰ Guillaume de Nangis, for example, echoed by later Dionysian writers, conceived the boundary between the French kingdom and the Empire in his own day to be defined by the Meuse.²¹ The idea that the Rhône acted as a boundary appeared in Bernard Gui's account of the death of Pope Clement V, who died: '[. . .] apud Rocham Mauran, quod est castrum regni Franciae super Rodanum, in finibus regni sui'.²² Subsequently, the pope's body was transported *ultra Rodanum, extra regnum Franciae*. Returning from the crusade via Provence, it was only when Louis IX arrived at Beaucaire, situated on the right bank of the Rhône, that Joinville felt able take leave of the

¹⁸ N. D. Schlessler, 'Frontiers in Medieval French History', *The International History Review*, 6 (1984), 159–73 (p. 161).

¹⁹ Ronnie Ellenblum has argued recently, using the kingdom of Jerusalem as a case study, that the key to understanding medieval political frontiers lies in abandoning the intrinsically modern conception of a boundary (either in terms of a specific line or a region) and instead identifying centres which radiated influence: 'Were there Borders and Borderlines in the Middle Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. by D. Abulafia and N. Berend (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 105–19.

²⁰ While acknowledging that certain clearly delineated boundaries were at times considered to exist and could be signalled by geographical features such as rivers, Ellenblum believes that such boundaries existed only on a local level. He argues that the fact that they existed on this 'local' level does not necessarily imply that boundaries were perceived to exist on a higher political level: Ellenblum, 'Were there Borders and Borderlines in the Middle Ages?', p. 110. I would suggest that while this may have been true in an earlier period, the thirteenth century saw several French chroniclers actively associate rivers with an extensive, specifically 'Franco-imperial', boundary.

²¹ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 308; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 18; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 186–87.

²² *Flores chronicorum*, p. 724.

King, who was now *en sa terre et en son pooir*.²³ Jean de Saint-Victor did not attempt to define the contemporary extent of the French kingdom but, following Hugues de Saint-Victor, noted that the original kingdom of the Franks was delimited by two rivers, the Loire and the Meuse.²⁴ It may be added that in Jean's view this Frankish kingdom was by no means concomitant with 'Gaul', an essentially geographical rather than political unit, which in the east extended up to the Rhine.²⁵

The efforts of nineteenth-century cartographers, such as Collinet, to draw precise 'frontier' lines upon a map of medieval Europe were frustrated by the fact that maps, understood in their modern sense as precision instruments, were an alien concept in medieval France.²⁶ Although Robert Fawtier probably goes too far in suggesting that, beyond a tally of revenues and rights, French kings can have had little conception of what they ruled before the first precision map was drawn in 1472, he was almost certainly correct to note that precise 'frontier' lines had little to do with the way in which the king conceived of the regions over which he exercised authority.²⁷ At the same time it seems probable that the inhabitants of northern France understood the limits of the French kingdom in terms of precise and definable points. It may be the case, as Roger Dion suggested, that certain inhabitants in border regions were content that an air of vagueness should cloud the issue of who, precisely, exercised jurisdiction over them;²⁸ it is unlikely that they questioned whether precise points defining the limits of this jurisdiction existed.

²³ *Livre des saintes paroles*, § 663, p. 330.

²⁴ *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), 246.

²⁵ *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), p. 238.

²⁶ For recent studies of medieval attitudes towards maps: P. Gautier-Dalché, *Géographie et culture: la représentation de l'espace du VI^e au XII^e siècle*, Variorum Collected Studies (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997); E. Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers viewed their World*, The British Library Studies in Map History, 1 (London: The British Library, 1997).

²⁷ R. Fawtier, 'Comment le roi de France, au début du XIV^e siècle, pouvait-il se représenter son royaume?', in *Mélanges offerts à M. Paul-E. Martin par ses amis, ses collègues, ses élèves* (Geneva: Comité des Mélanges P. E. Martin, 1961), pp. 65–71 (repr. in Robert Fawtier, *Autour de la France capétienne: personnages et institutions*, ed. by J. C. Fawtier Stone (London: Variorum, 1987)).

²⁸ R. Dion, *Les Frontières de la France* (Paris: Hachette, 1947; repr. Brionne: Monfort, 1979), pp. 44–45.

Dion believed that prelates stimulated a process which, if it had remained uninterrupted, would have gradually led to the establishment of precise boundaries.²⁹ Instead, the interests of the lay nobility frustrated this and led border areas to remain regions in which no clearly defined jurisdiction existed.³⁰ The use of the phrase *en la marche d'Alemaigne* by the 1340s Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques*, when describing the location of a castle, certainly suggests that some degree of uncertainty prevailed concerning the location of the boundary between France and the Empire.³¹ Yet it seems unlikely that even a fractious nobility questioned the principle that either their own territories, or the kingdom as a whole, possessed fixed boundaries. As Jean Richard has convincingly demonstrated in the case of the duchy of Burgundy, the lay nobility conceived of jurisdiction as something which, rather than emanating from a centre and gradually becoming weaker as it radiated outwards, existed with equal vigour within a given region which was defined at its limits by a series of precise points. The problem of establishing the extent of safe-conducts and tolls at the end of the eleventh and early-twelfth century, for example, led to the emergence of such points which represented the limits and confluence of the jurisdictions exercised by the dukes of Burgundy and the counts of Champagne and Bar.³² While it is certainly true, as Norman Schlessler notes, that such points tended to be defined only where communities met and not in sparsely populated areas,³³ this does not make them any less a definite point where one jurisdiction ended and another began. There is evidence to suggest that a conception of the border between France and the Empire as a series of fixed points existed at least as early as the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

In 1263 two *enquêtes*, one concerned with the origin of salt taxes and the other with royal rights more generally, were ordered by Louis IX and conducted along the course of the Rhône by the treasurer of Évreux.³⁴ These establish not simply that the Rhône itself was regarded as a boundary between France and the

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 35, 38–39.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 43, 45.

³¹ *Grandes Chroniques*, viii, 355.

³² J. Richard, 'Le 'conduit' des routes et la fixation des limites entre mouvance féodales. La frontière Bourguignonne dans le comté de Bar-sur-Seine (XI^e–XIII^e siècles)', *Annales de Bourgogne*, 24 (1952), 85–101.

³³ Schlessler, 'Frontiers in Medieval French History', p. 166.

³⁴ These enquiries remain unedited but are analyzed in J. de Romefort, 'Le Rhône de l'Ardèche à la Mer, frontière des Capétiens au XIII^e siècle', *RH*, 181 (1929), 74–89.

Empire, but that this boundary was perceived to exist at a precise point, normally the centre of the river unless it was adjusted to take account of islands, which were generally divided up according to which bank they were closest too.³⁵ Particularly striking were the findings that in 1226 Louis VIII had ordered Raymond de Loubières and Bertrand de Luc to destroy the bridge of Saint-Bénézet. This act of demolition was only carried out up to the church from which the bridge took its name. Witnesses were categorical that the reason for this very calculated approach to destruction was that while Louis wished to emphasize his rights, at the same time, the King wanted to make clear that he had no intention of innovating in the Empire. The part of the bridge Louis ordered destroyed lay *in regno*; the other part, left intact, was *in imperio*.³⁶ The idea that a division lay in the centre of a river was not unique to the Languedoc. The inhabitants of the region in the vicinity of Verdun, questioned in 1288 by *enquêteurs* despatched by Rudolf of Habsburg, gave a remarkably similar account of the logic that lay behind the half-demolition of bridges during periods of strife between the inhabitants of the counties of Champagne and Bar.³⁷

The idea that the dividing point between two jurisdictions lay equidistant between two points was not restricted to cases involving the banks of rivers and the centre of bridges. The account of Albert von Stade, written shortly after the mid-thirteenth century, provides evidence for a case in the north of the kingdom, in the region of Hainaut, where a stone placed on a road in the centre of a village was noted to mark a dividing point between the kingdom and the Empire.³⁸ This idea may have been, as de Romefort argued, reinforced by Roman legal concepts of boundaries.³⁹ At its roots there probably lay a

³⁵ Romefort, 'Frontière des Capétiens au XIII^e siècle', p. 85. Until the nineteenth century the banks continued to be termed *Riau* and *Empi*: Dion, p. 82.

³⁶ '[...] a dicta ecclesia ultra est pons de Imperio, citra vero est de Regno; et idcirco non fecit dirui ultra ecclesiam Sancti Benedicti, in signum hujus quod nichil debebat innovare in Imperio [...]'], cited from: Romefort, 'Frontière des Capétiens au XIII^e siècle', p. 83, n. 3.

³⁷ '[...] cil de Champengne les pons fais sor le dit ru de Bienme deffirent plusors fois la moitiei par devers aus, et l'autre moitiei par desai devers Verdun lassoient entiere, por ce que elle estoit de l'empire', MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 410, p. 393 (25 May 1288).

³⁸ *Annales Stadenses auctore Alberto*, ed. by J. M. Lappenberg, MGH SS, 16, pp. 271–359 (p. 336). I am grateful to Dr Len Scales who drew my attention to this passage, which is the earliest evidence for the use of stones to delineate the division between the kingdom and Empire that I have encountered.

³⁹ Romefort, 'Frontière des Capétiens au XIII^e siècle', pp. 84–85.

conception of meeting places as points equidistant from two centres of power, the same conception which led contemporaries to choose Quatrevaux, on the road between Toul and Vaucouleurs, as a meeting place between king and emperor.⁴⁰

These fixed points were only defined when political, economic, or other reasons made such definition desirable or necessary. One such occasion arose in 1299 when the negotiations surrounding the marriage of Albrecht of Habsburg's son to Blanche de France appear to have led to a decision to establish a series of stone markers at the point where royal jurisdiction ended and imperial began. The establishment of these markers is known only from testimony given to an enquiry in 1390 which stated that the stones had been planted in the presence of Philippe and Albrecht *afin que chacun sceust ses droits et les extrémités de son pays*. According to the *enquêteurs* their witnesses declared that the stones *faisoient division du royaume et de l'empire*.⁴¹ The markers crossed the Val-de-l'One (Quatrevaux) beginning at the Meuse, not far from Verdun, and proceeded until Traveron and Brixey.⁴² Yet the circumstances which led to clarifications of the border between France and the Empire frequently did not involve the Empire or its rulers directly.

It was economic considerations that led to the *enquêtes* which carefully delimited the extent of imperial and French jurisdiction along the course of the Rhône, just as it had been primarily economic considerations, connected, in particular, with the fairs of Champagne, that had led to the delineation of boundaries between the duchy of Burgundy and the counties of Champagne and Bar.⁴³ The enquiries conducted by the treasurer of Évreux sprang from an

⁴⁰ Dion, pp. 23–32. Quatrevaux is first attested to as a Franco-imperial meeting place in 1224, the year in which Louis VIII met Henry (VII) there. It is possible that the young Louis had met Henry's father there in 1212, although the only accounts of this meeting suggest it took place at Vaucouleurs. It is notable that 1212 was the year that a more traditional 'mid-way point', Mouzon, the site of meetings between French and imperial rulers since the eleventh century, became unavailable when a fire destroyed the local abbey and much of the surrounding town. For a summary of what is known of Franco-imperial meeting places between the eleventh and early-thirteenth century: B. Guenée, 'Des limites féodales aux frontières politiques', in *Les lieux de mémoire*, II: *La Nation*, ed. by P. Nora, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), II, 11–33 (pp. 19–20).

⁴¹ Cited from: Dion, p. 84.

⁴² Leroux, p. 108, n. 2.

⁴³ The protection offered by the counts of Champagne to those attending the fairs was clearly an important factor in their success. As Richard has noted, it was in the Count's

attempt to establish the extent of royal rights in the face of long-standing Provençal encroachments upon revenues formerly owed to the count of Toulouse, but, under the terms of the 1229 treaty of Paris-Meaux, acquired by the king.⁴⁴ In the course of an investigation into Louis IX's rights and those of the present count of Provence, Charles d'Anjou, the treasurer came to a number of conclusions concerning the limits of the kingdom and the Empire. These latter were, however, incidental and were made simply because the bounds of the Empire were considered to be concomitant with those of the county of Provence.⁴⁵

A further case which had implications for the definition of the Franco-imperial border involved the ruler of the Empire more directly but grew, essentially, from a quarrel that broke out in 1286 between the count of Bar and the abbot of Beaulieu-en-Argonne.⁴⁶ The original cause of this dispute remains unknown but it resulted in two *enquêtes*, one launched by Philippe IV in 1287, which led the parlement held at All Saints to determine that Beaulieu-en-Argonne was *in regno Francie et de regno*,⁴⁷ and one commissioned by Rudolf of Habsburg on 3 March 1288, which determined the opposite.⁴⁸ In the course of attempting to resolve matters, these enquiries built up a snapshot of local perceptions of the extent of French and imperial jurisdiction. Rudolf endorsed the findings of his *enquêteurs* as an accurate account of the Franco-imperial

interest to know quite how far his responsibilities extended: 'La frontière Bourguignonne', p. 100.

⁴⁴ Romefort, 'Frontière des Capétiens au XIII^e siècle', pp. 74–75.

⁴⁵ Schlessler suggests that conflicts over boundaries in the twelfth century focused on the limits of the great fiefs of the Franco-imperial border region rather than the 'international' boundary between France and the Empire: 'Frontiers in Medieval French History', p. 170.

⁴⁶ J. Havet, 'La frontière d'empire dans l'Argonne enquête faite par ordre de Rodolphe de Habsbourg à Verdun, en mai 1288', *BEC*, 42 (1881), 383–428; 612–13 (pp. 383–87).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 384. The *enquête* is not extant: *ibid.*, p. 393.

⁴⁸ Written in French and conducted by a canon of Liège, Anselme de Porroie, and two knights, Hartmann von Ratzenhausen and Eberhard von Landsberg. Eighty-four witnesses were interviewed in Verdun (14–25 May 1288): *ibid.*, pp. 385–86. The original text of the *enquête*, acquired by the Count of Bar, and a fifteenth-century copy remain extant. The *enquête* is edited by Havet, 'La frontière d'empire dans l'Argonne', pp. 405–28, and in MGH *Constitutiones* 3, no. 410, pp. 392–405.

border,⁴⁹ a judgement confirmed first by Adolf of Nassau⁵⁰ and later by Albrecht of Habsburg.⁵¹

A particularly striking aspect of the findings of the 1288 *enquête* was the frequent claim made by the local inhabitants that the officials of the French king had sought to exercise their authority beyond the limits of the French kingdom. To the allegations that Philippe IV was the first French king to claim guardianship of the abbey of Beaulieu-en-Argonne,⁵² it was added that, excepting those kings of France who had also been emperors,⁵³ Philippe III had been the first to attempt to exert authority over another abbey, that of Montfaucon.⁵⁴ It was also asserted that sergeants of the French king had made demands even in the city of Verdun itself, a city which, according to one of its citizens, Richards li Grenetiers, had never been subject to the French king and whose citizens had always obeyed their bishop and the German king.⁵⁵

That the Capetian-Valois kings encroached upon regions theoretically subject to imperial authority was certainly the opinion of the Empire's rulers. If Philippe IV's response to Henry VII's coronation encyclical accurately reflects the contents of the letter Henry had sent to Lyon, then the Emperor had almost certainly intended to remind the citizens where their loyalty ought to lie. Henry's predecessors had taken more direct measures: on 26 April 1278 Rudolf informed the inhabitants of Besançon that he was aware that the King of France had attempted to corrupt their loyalty to the Empire. He exhorted and menaced them to resist these influences.⁵⁶ He later wrote directly to Philippe III

⁴⁹ MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 411, pp. 405–06 (12 October 1289, Strasbourg).

⁵⁰ MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 528, p. 503 (21 March 1295, Frankfurt).

⁵¹ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 81, p. 62 (6 December 1299, Toul).

⁵² For example: MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 410, pp. 394, 397.

⁵³ 'se il ne fuit impereires et roys de France', *ibid.*, p. 397. Also: *ibid.*, p. 398. This separation between 'emperor' and 'king' echoes contemporary Dionysian usage, although the latter normally placed the royal title before the imperial.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

⁵⁶ G. Lizerand, 'Philippe le Bel et l'Empire au temps de Rodolphe de Habsbourg (1285–1291)', *RH*, 142 (1923), 161–91 (p. 172). Alternatively dated to 1277: Langlois, *Philippe III*, p. 85; Leclère, p. 55. Previously, I have mistakenly interpreted Langlois to mean that the letter was addressed to Philippe III: Jones, 'Philippe III le Hardi [. . .] Imperial Candidature', p. 218. It has not proved possible to locate the source cited by Langlois, Leclère, and Lizerand: Chifflet, *Vesuntio, civitas imperialis*, 1, 229–30.

to complain at the behaviour of French officers in the Vivarais.⁵⁷ Adolf of Nassau was the most vocal in such complaints, which, as noted in chapter three, formed the excuse for his alliance with the English king, Edward I. Would-be imperial rulers were not alone in their assessment: it was shared by contemporary popes.

On 9 November 1265 Clement IV complained at Louis IX's infringement of imperial rights in the bishopric of Viviers: Clement himself had carried out an *enquête* in the bishopric before becoming pope and had observed not only the imperial standards used by past bishops but that all privileges of the bishop and chapter emanated from the emperor and not the French king.⁵⁸ Gregory X reiterated these complaints to Philippe III.⁵⁹ In 1290 Nicholas IV sent two cardinals to Philippe IV⁶⁰ to repeat the complaints made by Nicholas III in 1279⁶¹ concerning the abuses of royal officials in the imperial archbishopric of Lyon. In the same year Nicholas IV wrote to Rudolf noting that Philippe had been accused of going beyond the limits of his kingdom.⁶² After becoming pope, Benedetto Caetani, one of the papal envoys sent to Philippe in 1290, similarly complained of the French king's intrusions, not only in the Lyonnais, in the bull *Ausculda fili* (5 December 1301),⁶³ but also in the county of Burgundy, in the bull *Ineffabilis amor* (September 1296).⁶⁴ It was clearly in the interest of popes, who lay claim to a right to administer the Empire's temporalities during an imperial vacancy, to defend the idea that territories lay within the Empire. More recently, as I note in my introduction, the historians of the nineteenth and

⁵⁷ *Acta Imperii*, no. 53, pp. 33–34 (1284/85).

⁵⁸ Lizerand, 'Philippe le Bel et l'Empire', p. 186.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 186–87.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

⁶¹ Langlois, *Philippe III*, pp. 180–81.

⁶² MGH *Constitutiones* 3, no. 452, pp. 438–39 (3 July 1290, Orvieto).

⁶³ B. Galland, *Deux archevêchés entre la France et l'Empire. Les archevêques de Lyon et les archevêques de Vienne, du milieu du XII^e siècle au milieu du XIV^e siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1994), p. 591.

⁶⁴ J.-P. Redoutey, 'Philippe le Bel et la Franche-Comté', in *Provinces et États dans la France de l'Est. Le Rattachement de la Franche-Comté à la France. Espaces régionaux et espaces nationaux. Actes du Colloque de Besançon, 3 et 4 octobre 1977*, ed. by R. Fiétier and F. Lassus, Cahiers de l'Association interuniversitaire de l'Est, 19 (Besançon: Imprimerie de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, 1979), pp. 207–31 (p. 210).

twentieth centuries have joined medieval popes and would-be imperial rulers in regarding this period as the beginning of a French policy of expansion.⁶⁵

Historians have tended to absolve Louis IX of complicity, and to see in Philippe III's reign the revival of a perceived expansionist policy pursued by Philippe Auguste. This policy reached its apotheosis in the reign of Philippe IV, whose actions have been situated firmly within the context of *le grand plan d'hégémonie capétinene* by Jean Favier, author of the standard francophone work concerned with Philippe's reign.⁶⁶ Although the ultimate aims of this 'plan' have been much debated, few have doubted that it existed. Fewer still have questioned whether it was pursued continuously and consciously. Professor Strayer, probably the most influential anglophone exponent of this outlook, viewed Philippe IV as engaged in 'a deliberate attempt to work out a theory of the proper boundaries of France. It was a theory based on geography, history, and law, and it was a direct precursor of the expansionist policy of Louis XIV'.⁶⁷ As Lizerand, one of the few to question the continuity of this French 'policy', pointed out, the interpretation of this expansion as a conscious plan rests heavily upon a questionable interpretation of Philippe IV's character.⁶⁸ It is undoubtedly true that French authority expanded eastward in this period,⁶⁹ and that such expansion was, from a papal-imperial perspective, the consequence of 'encroachments'. Whether or not the product of a conscious plan, it must be questioned whether, within the northern French milieu, this expansion was regarded as being at the expense of imperial authority.

Expansion or Consolidation?

The precise nature of the document known as *Antequam essent clerici* remains unclear. It has often been regarded as a letter, or at least a draft letter, from

⁶⁵ For examples of this view see, in particular, the important study by Kern, *Die Anfänge*, and, more recently, the work of J. R. Strayer and B. Resmini.

⁶⁶ Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, p. 409. Also: Lehugeur, I, 216–17.

⁶⁷ Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, p. 351.

⁶⁸ Lizerand, 'Philippe le Bel et l'Empire', pp. 190–91.

⁶⁹ For a summary of this expansion: Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, pp. 346–67; Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, pp. 294–303. For the kingdom of Arles: Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, pp. 207–15, 262–68, 299–307.

Philippe IV to Boniface VIII, composed between August 1296 and July 1297.⁷⁰ One of its arguments, possibly intended as a response to the papal claims put in the bull *Ineffabilis amor*, is of particular note. The author claimed that the *rex Theutoniae*, that is Adolf of Nassau, had no reason to complain concerning the county of Burgundy: as a consequence of Adolf's proud mistrust and the open war he had waged against Philippe, the French had been led to take possession of the county for themselves.⁷¹ This was an optimistic, not to say rather inaccurate, assessment of affairs as the French continued to face strong resistance from a baronial league until 1301.⁷² The argument, essentially one for legitimacy through conquest, echoed the tone of the baronial complaint put to the papacy in 1246. That this was not felt to be a convincing argument seems evident from the fact that it was not frequently repeated. In the case of Burgundy, in particular, even Philippe appears to have tacitly recognized imperial prerogatives in relation to the county. The latter is all the more notable because he did so after having brought the region firmly to heel.⁷³ Reflecting, perhaps, a further facet of the deep-seated discomfort that appears to have existed in the northern French milieu with the idea of irrevocable disinheritance or disenfranchisement, a rather different justification for the expansion of French authority appears to have gained prevalence.

The second point that Philippe IV had put to Henry VII, in his response to the Emperor's coronation encyclical, was that Lyon lay within the boundaries of the kingdom of France. In Philippe Auguste's reign there are indications that the archbishop of Lyon was regarded, by the court at least, as owing some feudal service to the king.⁷⁴ In the mid-thirteenth century, however, the city itself seems to have been clearly regarded by many as *extra regno*. It was as a

⁷⁰ *Three Royalist Tracts*, ed. and trans. Dyson, pp. xiii–xiv.

⁷¹ *Antequam essent clerici*, in *Three Royalist Tracts, 1296–1302. Antequam essent clerici; Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem; Quaestio in utramque partem*, ed. and trans. by R. W. Dyson (Bristol: Thoemmes, 1999), pp. 2–11 (p. 8).

⁷² Redoutey, 'Philippe le Bel et la Franche-Comté', pp. 210–12.

⁷³ Redoutey, 'Philippe le Bel et la Franche-Comté', pp. 212–15.

⁷⁴ The archbishop appears in a list of those owing feudal service to the king: *Scripta de feodis ad regem spectantibus et de militibus ad exercitum vocandis. E Philippi Augusti regestis excerpta*, ed. by N. de Wailly, L. Delisle, and C.-M.-G. B. Jourdain, in *RHGF*, xxiii, 605–723 (p. 682).

consequence of Louis IX's apparent refusal⁷⁵ to allow Innocent IV asylum in France that the pope had been led to take up residence there. Writing in the 1280s, Guillaume de Nangis had implied that Innocent had fled to France to escape Frederick's tyranny, but the Dionysian made no claim that Lyon itself lay within the kingdom. Equally, no suggestion to this effect appeared in his *Gesta Philippi* when he commented on the meeting that took place between Pope Gregory X and Philippe III in the city in 1274. Recounting this latter, Guillaume noted that after the meeting Philippe left knights in the city to protect both Gregory and the forthcoming council.⁷⁶ The compilers of the 1340s Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques* 'translated' this with the additional comment that Innocent: '[. . .] eust III fors chastiaux et defensables en son commandement, qui sont des appartenances de la seigneurie du royaume de France, assis assés près de la cité de Lyons'.⁷⁷ The *Grandes Chroniques* retained Guillaume's statement that Philippe *retourna en France* after meeting Gregory, but the compilers included the clear suggestion that at least a region in close proximity to the city pertained to the kingdom. The *Grandes Chroniques*' version of the events of 1310, adapted from earlier Dionysian sources,⁷⁸ which depicted *ceulz de Lyons se rebellerent contre le roy de France*,⁷⁹ can only have fortified the impression that the French king possessed rights in the Lyonnais, and, indeed, implied, as did the version given by Jean de Saint-Victor,⁸⁰ that these rights extended over the city of Lyon itself.

The idea that the Lyonnais was a part of the French kingdom met with a mixed reception. Some, such as the compilers of Pierre Honoré's *Grandes Chroniques*, who, for example, passed over the second council of Lyon in silence,⁸¹ simply appear to have taken less interest in the topic than the Dionysians. Others, most strikingly Bernard Gui, gave an account of the events of 1310/11 that was unrecognizable from that produced at Saint-Denis. Gui made no suggestion that Lyon pertained to the French kingdom and suggested

⁷⁵ *Chronica majora*, IV, 392–93, 484; *Flores historiarum*, ed. by H. R. Luard, 3 vols (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890), II, 282–83.

⁷⁶ *Gesta Philippi Regis Franciae, filii sanctae memoriae regis Ludovici*, pp. 492–94.

⁷⁷ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 47–48.

⁷⁸ Second Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 380; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 34.

⁷⁹ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 278 and also 276–77.

⁸⁰ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 655.

⁸¹ BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 374^v. Cf. Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 244–45.

that Philippe had effectively annexed it by applying pressure to an archbishop who had been left to his own devices by Pope Clement V.⁸² Although Gui clearly remained unconvinced, there was almost certainly a good reason why not only the Dionysians and Jean de Saint-Victor, but also the Capetian-Valois kings themselves, could conceive not only of Lyon, but many other regions over which they came to exert authority, as, in fact, long-standing dependencies of the French kingdom.

When, by the 1259 treaty of Paris, Louis IX came to terms with the English king, he defended the agreement to his barons, according to Joinville, with the argument: 'pour ce que il [Henry III] n'estoit pas mon home, si en entre en mon hounage'.⁸³ Henry was to do homage not only for the lands returned to him but also for his duchy of Gascony and all his continental possessions.⁸⁴ Louis had, effectively, succeeded in transforming an allod into a fief, and a formerly independent lord into his vassal. Although Louis's particular achievement was spectacular the essence of what he had done was not particularly unusual. The adoption of a similar approach enabled the dukes of Burgundy to gain considerable influence within the county of Burgundy.⁸⁵ Particularly illustrative of such transformations was the case, from the Venaissin, of the lordship of Agout de Sault. Carrying out an *enquête* for Alphonse de Poitiers, Guy Foulquois, the future Clement IV, came to the conclusion that this land had never been held from anyone.⁸⁶ In 1291 the lord of the region, Isnard d'Entrevennes, did homage to Charles II of Salerno, declaring that although he had never held the lordship from anyone he henceforth wished to do so from the count of Provence.⁸⁷

⁸² 'Philippus, rex Franciae, habuit Lugdunum civitatem integraliter, data recompensatione in redditibus archiepiscopo Lugdunensi pro jure quod sibi in Lugduno Ecclesia vindicabat. Super quo prius Clemens papa V. per archiepiscopum consultus, consensum non praebuerat nec dissensum; sed reliquit archiepiscopum in manu consilii sui. [...] Et sic deinceps Lugdunum ad regem et regnum Franciae pertinet tali jure', *Flores chronicorum* and *Reges francorum*, p. 722. This is clearly the source for: *Ex anonymo regum Franciae chronico, circa annum M.CCC.XLII scripto*, p. 19.

⁸³ *Livre des saintes paroles*, § 65, p. 32; § 678-79, p. 338.

⁸⁴ Richard, *Louis*, pp. 353-54.

⁸⁵ Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne*, pp. 204, 219-21.

⁸⁶ *Layettes*, v, 673, pp. 224-25 (before 1257).

⁸⁷ P. Poindron, 'L'Expansion du comté de Provence vers le nord sous les premiers Angevins (1246-1345)', *Provence historique*, 18 (1968), 201-47 (p. 210).

In less than half a century the Angevin counts had succeeded in transforming an otherwise independent allodial holding into a dependency. If, nevertheless, the lordship turned out not to be an allod after all there was no question in the minds of those who drew up the 1291 agreement whose vassal Isnard's predecessors must once have been: the emperor's.⁸⁸ In other words it was simply assumed that, allod or fief, the lordship lay within the Empire, just as the duchy of Gascony, allod or fief, was indisputably within the French kingdom. There is much to suggest that the Capetian-Valois kings frequently viewed so-called encroachments upon the Empire not, as Joseph Strayer supposed, as the annexation of lordships previously subject to the Empire with the aim of securing a clearly defined border for France, but as part of a process of consolidation of royal authority over hitherto independent allods within the French kingdom. This is particularly clear in some of the more notorious cases, such as the Lyonnais and the Vivarais.

Agreements of *pariage* were acts which associated someone in the exercise of a jurisdiction previously the exclusive prerogative of another. They were most frequently made between a temporal lord and a weaker ecclesiastical one, although on occasion weaker temporal lords might also seek to associate their authority with a more powerful lord or be forced to do so.⁸⁹ They were by no means the unique tool of royal government, and were employed by lords such as the counts of Champagne and Savoy and the duke of Lorraine.⁹⁰ From Alphonse de Poitiers's accession to the county of Toulouse, they became a particularly favoured means of establishing Capetian authority in the Languedoc.⁹¹ The agreement finalized by Philippe IV with the Bishop of Viviers in 1307⁹² was the culmination of a long series of Capetian encroachments upon episcopal authority, begun under Louis IX,⁹³ but which had gained momentum with the act of *pariage* made between Philippe III and the abbey of Mazan.⁹⁴ This was part of a much wider pattern of *pariage* negotiations in the region,

⁸⁸ Poindron, 'L'Expansion du comté de Provence', p. 210.

⁸⁹ Gallet, p. 72.

⁹⁰ Respectively: *ibid.*, pp. 38, 67, 64.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 70–110.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 109–10.

⁹³ Langlois, *Philippe III*, p. 185.

⁹⁴ Régéné, 'La première étape de la pénétration Capétienne en Vivarais', pp. 181–99; Resmini, pp. 307–18.

which saw agreements made with the bishops of Le Puy, Mende, Cahors, and Limoges,⁹⁵ a context frequently ignored by historians who have considered Viviers only in the context of encroachments upon imperial territory.⁹⁶

The treasurer of Évreux's enquiry of 1263 illustrates that the Bishop of Viviers sought to capitalize upon his claim to be an imperial vassal and that, equally, royal officials and supporters were unwilling to accept it. In 1259 the Bishop, claiming his diocese was in imperial territory, had attempted to set up his own ferry service across the Rhône upstream from the ferry at Pont-Saint-Esprit whose revenues belonged to the king. The lord of Uzès reported that he had dismissed these claims and forced the Bishop to abandon his plans by seizing and smashing his boat.⁹⁷ The *pariage* concluded with the Bishop of Viviers *was* a special case, yet the factor that differentiated it from other such accords was that Philippe IV was satisfied with extracting an agreement from the Bishop which was not really a *pariage* at all. As far as the King was concerned the Bishop could be left to his own devices: the only important point was that he recognized royal authority.⁹⁸ A proposed '*pariage*' which offered striking similarities with that made in relation to the Vivarais were the agreements known as the *Philippines*, provisionally worked out with the Archbishop of Lyon, Louis de Villars (1301-08), between 1306 and 1307.

Under the terms of the *Philippines*, as they were originally conceived, Louis de Villars would have suffered a diminution of his authority, but one which would have been of material benefit not to the king but to Louis's own chapter. What the *Philippines* effectively established was that jurisdiction pertained to the church of Lyon but was exercised by permission of the king.⁹⁹ A royal *gardiateur* would remain in the city but the jurisdiction he had exercised previously would be reduced and he would become only a symbol of royal

⁹⁵ Gallet, p. 99.

⁹⁶ For example: Leroux, p. 122; Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, p. 353. Professor Strayer noted the *pariage* with the bishop of Viviers in lists of such agreements made between Philippe and the southern clergy but does not appear to have considered this wider context relevant to the question of the bishopric's annexation: Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, pp. 248, 408.

⁹⁷ Romefort, 'Frontière des Capétiens au XIII^e siècle', p. 78. Andegau d'Uzès' decision to uphold royal rights was not an entirely disinterested one: he received part of the revenues from the ferry.

⁹⁸ Gallet, p. 110, n. 293. Strayer noted that Philippe was willing to allow the bishop a great deal of autonomy after he acknowledged his bishopric was within the French kingdom: *Philip the Fair*, p. 351.

⁹⁹ Galland, pp. 594-97.

authority.¹⁰⁰ While two of Louis de Villars predecessors, Henri de Villars and Pierre de Tarentaise, had done homage to the king, they had only done so under protest, claiming that they were not obliged to do so.¹⁰¹ The essence of the archbishop's obligation under the *Philippines* was to recognize the king's suzerainty and to do homage. That the *Philippines* were not implemented and that the archbishopric was effectively occupied by French troops was largely the consequence of the refusal of Louis's successor, Pierre of Savoy (1308–32), to implement the agreement and to do homage. Like the Archbishop's flight from Paris shortly beforehand, Pierre's expulsion of the royal garrison from Saint-Just in 1310 appears to have been a panicked reaction to Guillaume de Nogaret's demand for this homage.¹⁰² It provided Philippe with a good excuse to take action to settle matters, but the installation of direct royal government over Lyon had almost certainly never been the King's intention.

It is remarkable how quickly the Capetian-Valois kings were willing to waive the harsh agreement that had been imposed upon Pierre of Savoy after his humiliating defeat. In 1312 the Archbishop, under house arrest in Paris, had been forced to give up control of virtually all his temporalities in the city of Lyon and its dependencies in a far harsher *pariage* agreement than those made with the bishops of Le Puy, Mende, or Viviers.¹⁰³ In 1320 Philippe V simply returned authority to Pierre after he had established that the Archbishop was willing to be more cooperative.¹⁰⁴ Although they were clearly marked by Philippe IV's characteristic heavy-handedness, there is little to distinguish the principle involved in the agreements made with the Archbishop of Lyon and the Bishop of Viviers from that made between Louis IX and Henry III in 1259. The interest of the king in all these cases was not to take control of the lands of previously independent lords but primarily to establish suzerainty over them. A further similarity is that neither Philippe nor Louis, the latter with one exception,¹⁰⁵ sought to claim any authority over lands that were possessed by

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 595.

¹⁰¹ Respectively: *ibid.*, pp. 590, 581.

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 598–601.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 602.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 604–05.

¹⁰⁵ The initiative behind Louis's attempt in September 1263 to arraign Simon de Montfort and his supporters on the grounds that they were his rear-vassals notably lay with Henry III: J. R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 242. The English barons vigorously denied Louis's authority (Maddicott,

their new vassals but which could be considered to be *extra regnum*. Royal councillors even went so far as to remove the archbishop of Aix-en-Provence from a list of the king's feudal dependants drawn up in Philippe Auguste's reign, presumably because they came to recognize that the archbishop held no lands within the kingdom.¹⁰⁶

Even when a much riled Philippe IV forced Pierre of Savoy to come to terms in 1312 the agreement concluded specifically maintained the Archbishop's right to make war freely on the left banks of the Saône and the Rhône.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, no objections were raised in 1324 when Pierre wished to lead an army into imperial lands to assist his cousin, the Count of Savoy.¹⁰⁸ It may be suggested that the interests of Capetian-Valois kings did not lie in extending their theoretical authority over all the lands subject to the archbishop of Lyon, just certain ones which could be claimed to lie within the French kingdom: they were intent not upon annexing 'imperial' lands, but in asserting suzerainty over regions that they considered to be *in regno*. A similar approach was apparent in Philippe IV's dealings with the Counts of Hainaut and Bar, and in those of Charles IV and Philippe VI with the Archbishop and chapter of Vienne.

In 1290 Jean II d'Avesnes, Count of Hainaut, did homage to Philippe IV for the Ostrevant region. Jean agreed to do this with some initial reluctance and only after Philippe had agreed that an enquiry would be established to look into certain contested areas. The King recognized that Jean had done homage; at the same time he explicitly undertook to understand this to exclude any areas that

Simon de Montfort, p. 243), as did Louis's own barons, and Louis appears to have accepted their argument: C. T. Wood, 'The Mise of Amiens and Saint Louis' Theory of Kingship', *French Historical Studies*, 6 (1970), 300–10 (p. 309).

¹⁰⁶ That the archbishop of Aix-en-Provence was initially included but later removed from a list of the king's feudal dependants is not immediately apparent from the nineteenth-century edition of the text: *Scripta de feodis ad regem spectantibus et de militibus ad exercitum vocandis*, p. 682. The point is noted by G. Sivéry, 'La description du Royaume de France par les conseillers de Philippe Auguste et par leurs successeurs', *Le Moyen Âge*, 90 (1984), 65–85 (p. 72). The initial inclusion of the archbishop may suggest that Primat was not the only one to be less than sure about the status of Provence (cf. *Chronique de Primat*, p. 61). Bordeaux, the key city of English Gascony, was also removed from later drafts of the list, presumably because the idea that its archbishops might render the Capetians feudal service came to be considered hopelessly optimistic.

¹⁰⁷ Galland, p. 602.

¹⁰⁸ Galland, p. 608.

the enquiry might later establish lay outside the French kingdom.¹⁰⁹ As was to be the case in the Lyonnais, the impression given, and quite possibly the genuine conviction of the King, was not that French authority was being expanded at the expense of the Empire but that it was being consolidated within the kingdom. That Philippe's actions were dictated by this principle and that he was particularly keen to avoid any suggestion that he was engaged in arbitrary acts of annexation is indicated by the circumstances surrounding French intervention in a dispute between the Count of Hainaut and the citizens of Valenciennes.

Philippe was conspicuously absent from the first dispute that broke out between the townsmen and the Count. While Jean II clearly believed that he held Valenciennes from the emperor and directed his own appeal to the imperial court,¹¹⁰ the townsmen, on the occasion of this first dispute, sought to enlist the assistance of the son of the count of Flanders and the Pope.¹¹¹ The King's intervention in a second dispute attracted much contemporary interest and was by no means lacking in controversy. One anonymous account noted that it was only through his intervention in 1292 that Philippe had acquired lordship of the town which he *tint comme se elle fust sienne*.¹¹² Even the Dionysians were uncertain about Philippe's position but tended to suggest that the King's intervention was justified by the fact that at least the guardianship of the churches of the town lay in his hands.¹¹³

The claim that the French king exercised any sort of guardianship over the town of Valenciennes was certainly, in reality, an encroachment upon imperial territory. The justification for this claim appears to have been supplied by the citizens themselves at the time of the second dispute with Jean. Keen to enlist a powerful supporter, envoys were dispatched to the French court bearing a dossier containing a series of charters (accompanied by French translations) designed to prove that the city of Valenciennes pertained to the French

¹⁰⁹ Lizerand, 'Philippe le Bel et l'Empire', pp. 163–64.

¹¹⁰ E. Boutaric, *La France sous Philippe le Bel. Étude sur les institutions politiques et administratives du moyen âge* (Paris: Plon, 1861; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1975), p. 385.

¹¹¹ Lizerand, 'Philippe le Bel et l'Empire', pp. 165–66.

¹¹² *Extraits d'une chronique anonyme française*, p. 133.

¹¹³ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 278–79, 281; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, pp. 10, 11; Ives de Saint-Denis, *Pars Ultima Chronici anno M.CCCC.XVII. a Guillelmo Scoto, Sancti Dionysii Monacho, Conscripsi*, p. 203; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 146–47, 149–50.

kingdom. Philippe's claim to have a right of intervention was founded upon the argument outlined in the *mémoire* summing up the citizens case: 'ils sont et ont esté de très-ancien temps, et lor ville de vostre royaume de Franche'.¹¹⁴ Philippe had not sought to intervene before he was presented with a credible excuse for doing so and that excuse was, in essence, that he had always had the right to intervene if he chose to because the town was a part of his kingdom. Nevertheless, the status of Valenciennes and the Ostrevant as whole remained open to question and Philippe and his successors initiated numerous enquiries intended to resolve which parts of the region lay in France and which in the Empire.¹¹⁵ Notable amongst these is that begun at Philippe VI's orders in 1337/38 which made the suggestion that territory could be distinguished as belonging to either France or the Empire through the different types of confirmation employed by the King-Emperor Charles le Chauve: 'et tout ce que il donoit en Haynau et en l'empire d'Allemagne, il selloit de son grand seel; et ce que il confermoit au royaume de France, il selloit de son anel'.¹¹⁶ If historically inaccurate,¹¹⁷ the account highlights, in a report described as *enquête secrete* in at least one of its versions,¹¹⁸ an official perception not only that Charles' roles as *roys de France et emperieres de Rome*¹¹⁹ should not be confused, but that there existed a clearly discernible line of jurisdiction beyond which the king of France lacked authority. A concrete example of how this division might operate in practice is included: an account, according to the enquiry taken from a French chronicle, is given of the co-operation between Philippe Auguste and the Emperor Henry VI in ending a siege of Valenciennes by Philippe (d. 1191),

¹¹⁴ The preamble is edited: Boutaric, p. 386, n. 1.

¹¹⁵ For these subsequent enquiries: J. Viard, 'L'Ostrevant. Enquête au sujet de la frontière française sous Philippe VI de Valois', *BEC*, 82 (1921), 316–29 (pp. 320–21).

¹¹⁶ The text of the enquiry is edited by Viard: *ibid.*, pp. 323–29. For these remarks see *ibid.*, p. 323. For the dating of the enquiry: *ibid.*, p. 322.

¹¹⁷ There was, as Viard notes, no distinction made between the methods of sealing documents in Charles' reign. The mistake may have its origins in a misunderstanding of earlier terminology. Phrasing dating back to Antiquity and employing the term 'ring' continued to be used up until the eleventh century to describe what was in reality the use of a seal: *ibid.*, p. 323, n. 9. The importance of this point lies, however, in the significance the fourteenth-century enquiry attributed to the alleged distinction.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 323, n. 3.

¹¹⁹ This very Dionysian phrasing appears: *ibid.*, p. 323.

Count of Flanders, in 1190/91. After the count's defeat both rulers entered their respective parts of Valenciennes, the division between which was a river.¹²⁰

Henry, Count of Bar, had been one of the few lords to offer Edward I active support in the 1290s. Following his defeat and imprisonment by the French, a settlement was forced upon Henry in 1301.¹²¹ Yet this settlement required only that the Count recognize that he was the king's vassal for what became known as the *Barrois mouvant*, that is the region held by the count on the 'French' bank of the Meuse. This territory, it was suggested,¹²² was an allod for which the Count had never done homage, even to the emperor. This was not an act of annexation so much as it was an assertion of suzerainty over a free allod that might plausibly be considered, on the grounds of river boundaries, to lie within the French kingdom.

The view that certain territories lay within the bounds of the French kingdom appears to have similarly dictated Philippe VI's dealings with the Archbishop and chapter of Vienne and the Dauphin. Philippe sought to establish a *pariage* with the Archbishop for Sainte-Colombe between 1333 and 1335, an arrangement, probably originally proposed by Charles le Bel,¹²³ that envisioned the Archbishop holding the *moitié* of the town in fief from the king and doing homage regularly.¹²⁴ This would have given Philippe a foothold in a town directly across the Rhône from the city of Vienne. When the Archbishop proved reluctant to cooperate Philippe took the striking step, in 1335, of ordering his officials to occupy Sainte-Colombe anyway. It was made clear to the Archbishop and, indeed, to the Dauphin, that royal officials were more than entitled to act on the right bank of the Rhône, with or without the Archbishop or the Dauphin's cooperation.¹²⁵ At the same time no claim was made to authority over lands on the left bank.

¹²⁰ '[...]li emperieres Henrys d'Alemagne manda au roy de France qu'il venist aydier à lever le siege où il avoit part; et se il vouloit venir, li emperieres venroit à soulas pour delivrer la part de sa ville. D'accord furent, et assemblerent au lieu en leurs personnes. [...] et ils entrèrent en la ville de Valenciennes, chacun à soulas; li roy de France deçà l'Escaut, et li Empereres par delà, et compaignerent li uns l'autre, par un jour ou par deux, reconcilierent leurs gens et puis se partirent', *ibid.*, p. 324.

¹²¹ Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, p. 299.

¹²² Noted in documents in the *Trésor des chartes*: Boutaric, p. 398.

¹²³ Galland, pp. 614–15.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 617–21.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 620.

That Capetian-Valois encroachments were perceived to be the establishment of royal authority over allods or, in the case of the Ostrevant, fiefs considered to lie *in regno*, was an impression abetted in several cases by those 'encroached' upon. Jean II does not appear to have questioned that the count of Hainaut owed homage to the French king for *something* and had done homage to Philippe III in 1285;¹²⁶ rather he disputed precisely what that *something* was.¹²⁷ Louis de Villars may even have co-operated with Guillaume de Plaisians in suppressing evidence that suggested the existence of an imperial claim to Lyon.¹²⁸ With some notable, but ultimately pragmatic exceptions, such as the city of Lyon itself, which spread across both banks of the Saône,¹²⁹ the extent of these 'French' lands was normally defined by river boundaries. This may explain why the extension of royal authority over Valenciennes, which straddled the Scheldt, appears to have raised comment and elicited a justification from the Dionysians, while the question of to whom the overlordship of the Vivarais ultimately belonged was, like the lordship of Agout de Sault, never considered to be particularly controversial, despite papal-imperial protests. This interpretation is further suggested by the attitude of French kings towards the exercise of authority in territories that could be considered to be *extra regnum*.

One Step Beyond?

Returning from the abortive crusade of 1270, Philippe III chose to travel overland through the Italian peninsula. The course of his journey brought him to the city of Milan, where according to Primat, writing less than six years after the event, the King was magnificently received by the city's inhabitants. Philippe was conducted *juques au palès royal* where he was offered gifts and the lordship of the city.¹³⁰ For reasons that were explained to the Milanese by the royal clerk Foulques de Laon, but not elaborated by Primat, Philippe, although he knew *bien l'onneur et la cour[toi]sie* done him, refused both the gifts and the

¹²⁶ Boutaric, p. 385.

¹²⁷ Lizerand, 'Philippe le Bel et l'Empire', p. 163.

¹²⁸ Galland, pp. 593–94.

¹²⁹ P. Bonnassieux, 'Observations sur cette question. Le Lyonnais faisait-il partie de la France en 1259?', *BEC*, 35 (1874), 57–65 (pp. 59–60); Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, p. 358.

¹³⁰ *Chronique de Primat*, p. 87.

citizens's request that he take their city under his guardianship.¹³¹ Although Foulques' participation was removed, this account was retained and elaborated by Guillaume de Nangis¹³² and later incorporated into the Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques*, for whose compilers, like Primat, this episode was almost certainly symbolic of the prestige enjoyed by the French king.¹³³

Regardless of whether or not Philippe really did impress them, the Milanese overtures were almost certainly motivated by a desire to establish a counterbalance to the power of Charles d'Anjou in the peninsula: in the wake of Tagliacozzo, while keen to remain on good terms with Charles, they wished to avoid a loss of independence.¹³⁴ It is likely that Philippe refused primarily because he had no wish to impede his uncle's activities in Lombardy. At the same time his decision was probably also influenced by a number of secondary considerations. One was geographical: it would have been difficult for Philippe to exercise any effective authority over the city. A second may have been the knowledge that the ultimate lordship of Milan lay with someone else, the emperor. Although this factor clearly did not restrain Capetian-Valois kings from exercising authority in regions considered to be *in imperio*, a recognition that ultimate suzerainty lay with someone other than themselves seems to have marked their attitude to doing so.

In 1276 Rudolf of Habsburg, at the request of the Abbot of Orval, wrote to Philippe III asking that the French king take the abbey of Orval in the diocese of Trier under his protection.¹³⁵ Rudolf did the same on 16 November 1281, this time requesting that Philippe undertake the protection of the bishop and bishopric of Toul because he himself was unable to do so.¹³⁶ Sivéry is only the

¹³¹ *Chronique de Primat*, p. 87.

¹³² *Gesta Philippi Regis Franciae, filii sanctae memoriae regis Ludovici*, p. 486.

¹³³ *Grandes Chroniques*, viii, 34. The Milanese were not the only ones to prostrate themselves at Philippe's feet and ask that he become their lord: both Cremona and the Marquis of Montferrat made similar requests, albeit in the former case after seriously offending the King. For an account of Philippe's journey through Italy: Sivéry, *Philippe III*, pp. 72–73.

¹³⁴ Dunbabin, *Charles*, pp. 79–80.

¹³⁵ (2 February 1276, Nuremberg), *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, ed. by E. Martène, 5 vols (Paris: Florentinus Delaulne, 1717; facsimile edn, Farnborough: Gregg, 1968), 1, 1154–55.

¹³⁶ *Regesta Imperii inde ab anno MCCXLVI usque ad annum MCCCXIII. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm, Richard, Rudolf, Adolf, Albrecht und Heinrich VII 1246–1313*, ed. by J. F. Böhmer (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1844), no. 637, p. 110. H.

most recent to see in the German king's actions Rudolf's own contribution to the *politique capétienne de grignotage de l'Empire*.¹³⁷ He echoes Heller's judgement, made over a century ago, that this was a sign of the bankruptcy of the Empire, and as Lizerand put it, a sign of Rudolf's *grande imprudence*.¹³⁸ Like Leroux,¹³⁹ Lizerand believed this policy stemmed from the reconciliation arranged between Rudolf and Philippe by the papacy. Historians have almost certainly underestimated Rudolf. It is unlikely that he viewed these acts as a diminution of his authority. Instead, they were probably intended, given the less than ideal circumstances with which he was confronted, as a means of confirming it. Rudolf was not, after all, giving away imperial rights: rather, he was pre-empting any possible usurpation by conferring them.

It is remarkable how little Philippe III and his son sought to profit from their apparent good fortune. In fact, they took so little interest that within a few years the guardianship over the bishopric of Toul was transferred out of Capetian hands to the Duke of Lorraine (1 October 1286), apparently without any French protest being raised.¹⁴⁰ Unlike the Lyonnais or the Vivarais, the latter a case in which Rudolf wrote directly to Philippe III protesting against French excesses,¹⁴¹ in the case of Toul the Capetians had been provided by the papally-accredited administrator of the Empire, if not an emperor, with an indisputable right to intervene. This was precisely the problem: any authority French kings might exert over Toul implied a recognition that this authority had been received from the emperor-elect. From this perspective there would have been little at odds with the preferred opinion of contemporary jurists like Jacques de Révigny (discussed in chapter six), that the French king, like all kings, was a magistrate of the emperor. It is probable that a desire to avoid actions that might lead to such an interpretation, that is that the French king was subordinate to imperial authority, explains the willingness of the Capetians to allow the guardianship of Toul to escape their control. Rudolf's 'commission' meant that there could be no question of acquiring outright lordship of the town without resorting to an argument based upon conquest, one which the

Thomas, 'Die Kirche von Toul und das Reich unter Rudolf von Habsburg und Adolf von Nassau', *Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte*, 3 (1977), 145-74.

¹³⁷ Sivéry, *Philippe III*, p. 263.

¹³⁸ Lizerand, 'Philippe le Bel et l'Empire', p. 166.

¹³⁹ Leroux, p. 51.

¹⁴⁰ Lizerand, 'Philippe le Bel et l'Empire', pp. 166-67.

¹⁴¹ *Acta Imperii*, no. 53, pp. 33-34.

inhabitants of the northern French milieu appear to have been reluctant to embrace. Yet Toul did not escape Philippe IV's attention entirely. Joseph Strayer correctly noted that this was a case in which an imperial bishopric became 'deeply involved' with the French king, but Professor Strayer took little interest in the factors which lay behind the way in which Philippe increased his authority over the city.¹⁴²

In 1289 Guillaume de Hangest, *bailli* of Chaumont, took under his protection the goods of the chapter of the church of Saint-Étienne de Toul at Void, Vacon, Naives, Bovée-la-Grande, Troussey, and Ourches, on behalf of the Count of Champagne. Two points concerning this are noteworthy: firstly, that in 1289 the Count of Champagne was none other than Philippe IV himself and, secondly, that all the properties named were on the left bank of the Meuse, a point clearly recognized. Philippe received into his guardianship 'toutes les villes, que li doiens et li chapitres [. . .] ont par desai la Meuze'.¹⁴³ Initially this arrangement was made for only three years but it was first extended and then made a guardianship for life.¹⁴⁴ This offers a further case which suggests that Capetian interest lay, essentially, in consolidating authority over what was perceived, or at least could be plausibly construed, to lie *in regno*, and which, in this case, could be considered to be allodial: the chapter claimed to hold these towns *franchement et quitement de Dieu*.¹⁴⁵ It is also a further example of an imperial lord co-operating with the extension of royal authority by recognizing that part of their lands lay within the French kingdom. In November 1291 Conrad, Bishop of Toul, consented to the French king exercising guardianship over the towns of the chapter of Toul *qui sunt de lai la Meuze, et sunt de la terre aumosnee dou roy de France*.¹⁴⁶ Yet by bestowing the guardianship upon Philippe III Rudolf appeared to have established firmly that Toul itself was *in imperio*.

In November 1300 the citizens of Toul offered Philippe le Bel another option. Rudolf might have bestowed upon Philippe's father the guardianship of the bishop and bishopric, but the citizens now declared that they were neither subject to their bishop nor to the chapter of Toul. More fundamentally they

¹⁴² Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, p. 350.

¹⁴³ *Acta Imperii*, no. 62, p. 40 (9 May 1289). Lizerand, 'Philippe le Bel et l'Empire', p. 167.

¹⁴⁴ *Acta Imperii*, no. 73, pp. 50–51; no. 74, pp. 51–52; no. 75, p. 52. Lizerand, 'Philippe le Bel et l'Empire', p. 167.

¹⁴⁵ *Acta Imperii*, no. 62, p. 40.

¹⁴⁶ *Acta Imperii*, no. 76, pp. 52–53.

considered themselves to be of *franche condition* and not to owe feudal obligations to anyone, in particular the German king. They claimed to have always chosen their own guardian without the consent of the German king, the bishop, the chapter, or anyone else.¹⁴⁷ The citizens' declaration was less than ideal. In offering Philippe and his successors the perpetual guardianship of their city, they added the condition that they not be required to act against the emperor or their bishop.¹⁴⁸ The citizens clearly intended to cover all eventualities, but the fact that they did not specify any rights that the German king, the bishop, the chapter, or anyone else, actually possessed with regard to the city of Toul, offered the French king a means of legitimately exercising authority over the city which could be interpreted neither as a usurpation of imperial jurisdiction nor as the exercise of authority on behalf of the emperor. The importance attached by French kings to being able to exercise authority unencumbered by either of these issues is illustrated by a less surmountable case.

That the Comtat-Venaissin lay irrefutably *in imperio* was a factor which almost certainly contributed to Philippe III relinquishing the most extensive territorial acquisition to come into royal hands on the east bank of the Rhône before the county of Provence in 1481. The Comtat, known also as the Marquisate of Provence, was a political unit approximating to the territory between the eastern bank of the Rhône and the Alps, and stretching from the Durance in the south to the Isère in the north.¹⁴⁹ Originally the possession of Raymond VII, Count of Toulouse, the Venaissin had passed, at Raymond's death in 1249, into the hands of Alphonse de Poitiers. With Alphonse's own death, in 1271, Philippe III lost no time in taking control of the region and obtaining homage from its inhabitants.¹⁵⁰ In February 1274 the King transferred virtually the whole of the Venaissin to the papacy in a little over two weeks.¹⁵¹ Philippe was ultimately motivated by his hope of obtaining Gregory X's support for his imperial candidature.¹⁵² It is remarkable, however, especially as Philippe's reign witnessed concerted efforts to extend royal authority in

¹⁴⁷ Declaration of *li maires, li maistres eschevins et li universiteis des citains de Toul*: *ibid.*, no. 313, p. 283 (November 1300, Toul).

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

¹⁴⁹ H. Dubled, *Histoire du comtat Venaissin* (Carpentras: Centre de recherches entre Durance et Lubéron, 1981), pp. 9–16.

¹⁵⁰ Fornery, I, 211–13.

¹⁵¹ Fornery, I, pp. 214–20; Jones, 'Philippe III le Hardi [...] Imperial Candidature', p. 217.

¹⁵² Jones, 'Philippe III le Hardi [...] Imperial Candidature', p. 222.

peripheral areas, that such authority was given up so quickly and, more striking still, so conclusively, in the one such region where it appears to have been most firmly entrenched.

Papal claims to the Venaissin, Raymond VII's lands *in Imperio ultra Rodanum*, were based upon the terms of the treaty of Paris-Meaux.¹⁵³ Although there were good reasons why this part of the treaty might be considered to have been invalidated, the circumstances in which this had occurred were problematic. Unease with the idea of permanently disinheriting Raymond had almost certainly, as was noted in chapter five, led Louis IX to refuse to support papal claims in the 1230s and, faced only by protesting pontiffs, the Count of Toulouse had re-occupied the Venaissin in 1236.¹⁵⁴ His actions were legitimized by Frederick II who, in 1234, had re-enfeoffed Raymond with his lands across the Rhône.¹⁵⁵ From a Capetian perspective, tacitly accepting this re-enfeoffment was extremely convenient: it meant that Jeanne de Toulouse, Raymond's daughter, had legitimately inherited the Venaissin and brought these lands, as well as the county of Toulouse, to her husband, Alphonse de Poitiers.¹⁵⁶ When events in 1274 did not transpire quite as Philippe had hoped, the papal tiara of the new occupant of the Venaissin rendered any question of simply re-occupying the region out of the question. That Philippe and his immediate successors also refrained from pursuing any form of litigation over the issue is probably explained by the recognition that even if this were to prove successful it could only do so by establishing that the French king was the inheritor of an imperial fief. Yet, as in the case of Toul, there was an exception.

At Orange, on 16 February 1274, the papal commissioners sent to obtain oaths of fidelity and to receive the Comtat from the King, demanded that the seneschal of Beaucaire's delegate, Raymond Bossicon, surrender into their hands the *moitié* of the city of Avignon. Raymond refused this request on the basis that he could not act without explicit orders from the seneschal.¹⁵⁷ This was not a temporary administrative check: Philippe never handed Avignon, or at least

¹⁵³ *Layettes*, II, 1992, p. 150 (12 April 1229, Paris); Fornery, II, vii, p. 379.

¹⁵⁴ Jones, 'Philippe III le Hardi [...] Imperial Candidature', p. 219.

¹⁵⁵ *Layettes*, II, 2509, pp. 270–71 (September 1234, Montefiascone).

¹⁵⁶ Jones, 'Philippe III le Hardi...Imperial Candidature', pp. 220–21.

¹⁵⁷ Fornery, I, 220–21.

his lordship of part of it, over to the pope¹⁵⁸ and in 1277 confirmed the city's privileges.¹⁵⁹

In 1226 Louis VIII had been acutely aware that Avignon was an imperial city. Although Frederick II, immersed in the problems generated by the Lombard league, could have done little to intervene when Louis lay siege to the city,¹⁶⁰ his son, Henry (VII), en route to the Imperial diet summoned to meet at Cremona, was, due to the machinations of the Milanese, becalmed on the frontiers of the kingdom of Arles accompanied by a conspicuously large army.¹⁶¹ In an effort to allay this potential problem Louis, the papal legate, and the French barons dispatched explanatory letters to Frederick. These offered an apologetic which placed the blame for the siege upon the city's recalcitrant, heretical inhabitants and ascribed Louis's actions wholly to the initiative of the papal legate and his duty to extirpate heretics.¹⁶² A second piece of lightening diplomacy resulted in Henry's ratification of an alliance, originally concluded with Frederick in 1223, a few days after the beginning of the siege.¹⁶³

Philippe Mousket, writing in the 1240s, had no doubt that Avignon was an imperial city.¹⁶⁴ To a lengthy account of the embassy Louis VIII sent to Frederick II,¹⁶⁵ he later appended a note indicating that Charlemagne had retained only France in his domain.¹⁶⁶ By the time the minstrel of Reims came to recount the siege in the 1260s, Avignon, despite being a city situated entirely on the left bank of the Rhône, had begun to be considered, at least by some, to

¹⁵⁸ Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, p. 221; Leclère, p. 41.

¹⁵⁹ Fornery, I, 225.

¹⁶⁰ C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII, 1187-1226* (Paris: Bouillon, 1894), p. 312.

¹⁶¹ Stürner, II, 106.

¹⁶² Only the barons's letter remains extant: *Layettes*, II, 1789, pp. 87–89.

¹⁶³ MGH Constitutiones 2, no. 290, p. 405 (11 June 1226, Trent). For the agreement with Frederick: MGH Constitutiones 2, no. 99, p. 125 (November 1223, Catania). Kienast, III, p. 586, n. 1671b.

¹⁶⁴ 'D'Avignon, ki fu de l'empire', *Historia Regum Francorum*, line 26096, p. 783.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, lines 26093–150, pp. 783–84.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, lines 27125–28, p. 794. The idea that France had been Charlemagne's particular patrimony appears in the work of the French canonist Guillaume de Montlaurzon (d. 1343): Spiegel, *Past as Text*, pp. 136–37, 257, n. 84.

be a rebellious 'French' city.¹⁶⁷ A tendency to at least ignore Avignon's imperial status was already apparent in Philippe Mousket's own day.¹⁶⁸ The most influential of Philippe's contemporaries to adopt this position was undoubtedly Vincent de Beauvais¹⁶⁹ whose account was utilized by Dionysian writers¹⁷⁰ and transmitted via this intermediary to, for example, Thomas de Maubeuge's *atelier*.¹⁷¹

Although Philippe IV ceded his rights over Avignon to the Count of Provence in 1291,¹⁷² the evidence of French chroniclers suggests that the city had come, by the last third of the thirteenth century, to enjoy the reputation of being *in regno*. It is this perception, perhaps, that explains why Philippe III felt that he had reasonable justification for retaining hold of his rights in the city, despite the findings of the 1263 enquiry of the treasurer of Évreux which had suggested Avignon was *extra regnum*. To exercise authority over the Comtat-Venaissin itself and other areas indisputably *in imperio* would have required an arbitrary act which Philippe and his successors do not seem to have been willing to contemplate. The attitude of French kings towards territories which could not be considered to be within the boundaries of their kingdom appears, then, to confirm that imperial jurisdiction was considered to be something which could not simply be ignored. If such considerations prevented Capetian-Valois kings from attempting to establish their direct authority over regions *in imperio*, it did not prevent them from attempting to exert influence over these regions or over imperial lords.

¹⁶⁷ 'cil d'Avignon estoient revelei contre lui [Louis VIII]', *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxxii, p. 171.

¹⁶⁸ Aubri de Trois-Fontaines' account provides a good example: 'Rex Ludovicus cruce signatus super Albigenes cum exercitibus suis abiit, civitatem Avennionem obsedit, post multam de suis amissionem et multa pericula civitatem ipsam potenter optinuit, de ea et de habitatoribus eius sicut voluit triumphavit.', *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 917.

¹⁶⁹ *Speculum historiale*, bk xxx, chap. cxxviii, p. 1276.

¹⁷⁰ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 175; *Grandes Chroniques*, VII, 22–23.

¹⁷¹ BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 363^r–363^v.

¹⁷² Runciman, p. 267.

Extending Influence

Contemporary French writers did not note that their kings annexed large swathes of imperial territory in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. The majority of these writers almost certainly did not believe that the Capetian-Valois kings were doing any more than consolidating their authority over the French kingdom. While the exertion of French authority over territories considered to be *in regno*, such as Valenciennes, Lyon, and Avignon, were mentioned frequently, not one northern French chronicler made reference to an instance in which a French king occupied territory collectively recognized to be *in imperio*, such as the Comtat-Venaissin. Rather, by a simple inversion, it was imperial lords who could be seen to invade and occupy parts of the French kingdom, an example being the case of the Count of Bar and the lands of the abbey of Beaulieu-en-Argonne.¹⁷³ The increasing influence that French kings came to exercise over these same imperial lords was something which did attract the attention of French writers, especially those who enjoyed a close relationship with the court.

Chroniclers and hagiographers devoted much attention to the peacemaking activities of Capetian-Valois kings especially when they touched upon imperial vassals. Joinville, for example, noted the peace made between Jean de Chalon and the Count of Burgundy¹⁷⁴ and between the Counts of Bar and Luxembourg¹⁷⁵ by Louis IX.¹⁷⁶ Philippe V's decision, in 1318, to send the constable Gaucher de Châtillon to settle the dispute between the Count of Bar, the citizens of Verdun, the Bishop of Verdun, and the latter's brother, Gobert VI d'Aspremont,¹⁷⁷ was noted by Jean de Saint-Victor¹⁷⁸ and the Dionysians. While the 1340s *Grandes Chroniques*,¹⁷⁹ like the Victorine, portrayed Philippe's intervention as an act of arbitration, some accounts produced in the abbey¹⁸⁰

¹⁷³ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 298; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 15; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 172–73.

¹⁷⁴ *Livre des saintes paroles*, § 680, pp. 338–40.

¹⁷⁵ *Livre des saintes paroles*, § 682, p. 340.

¹⁷⁶ Also: Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie*, ed. by Delaborde, chap. ix, pp. 73–74.

¹⁷⁷ For further details relating to this dispute: Lehugeur, I, 235–38.

¹⁷⁸ *Memoriale historiarum*, pp. 667–68.

¹⁷⁹ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 342–43.

¹⁸⁰ 'Sed rex Franciae qui gardiam habet villae [. . .]', Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 12; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 51.

noted that the King was able to intervene because he held the guardianship of Verdun. The scriptorium may have felt this latter claim justified, as in the earlier case of Valenciennes, on the grounds that an argument existed that Verdun lay within the limits of the French kingdom. Philippe V himself had asserted this in December 1318.¹⁸¹ The Dionysians also noted that during Charles IV's reign the Dauphin and the Count of Savoy came to Paris to try to resolve a dispute.¹⁸² In addition the scriptorium gave an account of the efforts made by Philippe VI to arbitrate a quarrel in the 1330s involving *plusieurs grans personnes d'Alemaigne*, including John of Bohemia, the Duke of Brabant, the Bishop of Liège, and the Count of Bar,¹⁸³ as well as noting Philippe's ultimately futile efforts to resolve matters in the county of Burgundy.¹⁸⁴ The scriptorium was even able to find, with what must have been considerable effort, an occasion on which the bellicose Philippe IV had negotiated a peaceful settlement, a dispute in 1305 between the Duke of Brabant and Henry of Luxembourg.¹⁸⁵

In the face of much baronial criticism, one of the grounds upon which Louis IX was said to have justified his decision to arbitrate his neighbours's disputes was that it prevented alliances being formed against him.¹⁸⁶ Acts of arbitration also enabled the French king to promote his prestige and expand his influence. As Joinville put it, those between whom the king arbitrated *l'amoient [. . .] et obeissoient*.¹⁸⁷ In common with efforts to assert suzerainty over allods considered to be within the kingdom, the promotion of Capetian-Valois influence through acts of arbitration was by no means an approach directed exclusively at the Empire. In fact, probably the most notorious piece of arbitration, like the most

¹⁸¹ Lehugeur, I, 239, n. 2. Philippe's agreement with the townsmen was to defend them against all except the emperor: Lehugeur, I, p. 239, n. 1.

¹⁸² Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 80; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 69. Cf. *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 64, which plays down the involvement of the king himself in these failed negotiations.

¹⁸³ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 140–41; *Chronique de Richard Lescot*, p. 34; *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 139–40.

¹⁸⁴ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 151; *Chronique de Richard Lescot*, pp. 40–41; *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 124–25, 153–55.

¹⁸⁵ Second Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 348; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 25; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 246. For an account in which the settlement was attributed not simply to Philippe but also to his barons: *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 644.

¹⁸⁶ *Livre des saintes paroles*, § 683, p. 340.

¹⁸⁷ *Livre des saintes paroles*, § 684, p. 340.

spectacular assertion of suzerainty, involved England rather than the Empire. This was the attempt by Louis IX to arbitrate between Simon de Montfort and Henry III, efforts which, in 1264, culminated in the *Mise of Amiens*.¹⁸⁸ Although well known to English chroniclers,¹⁸⁹ the *Mise* was entirely absent from French accounts, something which may reflect either its confusion with the much remarked upon negotiations of the previous summer at Boulogne¹⁹⁰ or a simple desire to avoid giving an account of one of Louis's more spectacular failures. Whether arbitration involved imperial princes or not such acts were distinguished by a number of common principles.

Even when it was not the disputing princes themselves who solicited acts of arbitration, as was the case in 1266 when Pope Clement IV requested Louis IX arbitrate a dispute between the Counts of Bar and Luxembourg,¹⁹¹ both the implementation and legitimacy of the King's judgements rested upon the consent of the parties involved to abide by his decision. The importance of mutual consent in the Bar-Luxembourg dispute, for example, is clear from the fact that Louis only delivered his judgement after Thibaud de Bar had agreed to co-operate.¹⁹² It is notable that Louis's final settlement in 1268 excluded the unpredictable Bishop of Metz, Guillaume de Trainel.¹⁹³ Another example of the importance attached to such consent is the inclusion of the letters of appeal and authorization that Louis received from both Henry III and the English barons in the preface to the *Mise of Amiens*.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁸ Richard, *Louis*, pp. 364–66; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, pp. 264–65; C. N. Jones, 'Amiens, Mise of (23 January 1264)', in *International Encyclopaedia for the Middle Ages-Online: A Supplement to LexMA-Online* <<http://www.brepolis.net>> [accessed 15 September 2006].

¹⁸⁹ For examples of English chroniclers who note Louis's involvement: R. F. Treharne, 'The Mise of Amiens, 23 January 1264', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. by R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin, and R. W. Southern (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), pp. 223–39 (p. 236).

¹⁹⁰ *Chronique de Primat*, p. 17; *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, pp. 414–16; *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, p. 417; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 225–26.

¹⁹¹ C. Abel, 'Louis IX et le Luxembourg', *Mémoires lus à la Sorbonne* (Paris, 1868), pp. 127–68 (p. 149). Henry of Luxembourg had taken the Cross and the pope was keen to see him extricated from a local dispute.

¹⁹² Louis's judgements relating to this dispute are edited: *ibid.*, pp. 152–54, 156–57.

¹⁹³ For Guillaume's activities: *ibid.*, pp. 161–64.

¹⁹⁴ *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion 1258–1267*, ed. by R. Treharne and I. J. Sanders (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 280–87.

Louis and his successors certainly sought to ensure that their judgements would be respected. In 1268, for example, Louis, possibly with the memory of Simon de Montfort's failure to keep his promises in 1264 in mind, only consented to intervene after extracting a large number of guarantees and penalty clauses to ensure that all parties would agree to his decision. Henry of Luxembourg alone agreed to pay 30,000 *livres* to the French king should he fail to execute the royal judgement.¹⁹⁵ Yet the Capetian-Valois kings did not, and could not as Louis was made aware in the course of the 1263 Plantagenet-de Montfort negotiations, claim any right to be able to impose their decisions, even when such acts of arbitration involved lords who might simultaneously hold lands within the French kingdom. As a consequence these acts of arbitration remained essentially private arrangements. Although they often took place in the vacuum created by the disappearance of effective imperial rule, they replaced it only in practice, not in theory. The same may be said of other practices by which French authority was expanded over the Empire.

Philippe IV extended his father's habit of granting money fiefs to imperial lords. Amongst others he increased the amount paid to the Duke of Lorraine (1287)¹⁹⁶ and bestowed money fiefs upon the Duke of Brabant (1304),¹⁹⁷ the Counts of Luxembourg (1294)¹⁹⁸ and Savoy (1304),¹⁹⁹ the Archbishop of Cologne (1301)²⁰⁰ and the Bishop of Liège (1304).²⁰¹ These fiefs had a practical purpose in that they enabled the King to pre-empt the possibility that the English might again, as they had done most recently in the 1290s,²⁰² seek to buy military support amongst the lords of the region to the north and east of the French kingdom. This was almost certainly the reason for buying off the Archbishop of Cologne, who in 1294 had promised to bring a cavalry force numbering a thousand to Edward I's aid.²⁰³ Establishing the support of these

¹⁹⁵ Abel, 'Louis IX et le Luxembourg', p. 150.

¹⁹⁶ Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, p. 350.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

¹⁹⁹ Leroux, p. 122.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁰² For Edward I's efforts in the 1290s to create a network of allies on the continent: Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 386–92.

²⁰³ Prestwich, *Edward I*, p. 387.

lords became particularly important in the early 1300s when the question of Flanders was yet to be resolved fully.

Although these arrangements represent to some degree the practical extension of royal authority over imperial lords they were problematic. This point is illustrated by the agreements which Philippe made with the Bishops of Metz and Verdun. Philippe bought Burchard of Metz's support in 1296, but the Bishop's death necessitated negotiating a new agreement with his successor.²⁰⁴ In 1304 it was necessary to enlist the support of the Bishop of Liège in an attempt to conclude an agreement with yet another new bishop, Renaud de Bar.²⁰⁵ The problems of such personal arrangements are clear from the case of Verdun. An agreement made with Bishop Probus in 1305 was invalidated by his death later that year and his successor chose to conclude an arrangement with Albrecht of Habsburg rather than Philippe.²⁰⁶ The most striking case is almost certainly that of the Luxembourg brothers, Count Henry, the future emperor, and his brother Baudouin, whose success in undermining Charles de Valois's imperial candidature in 1308 demonstrated that such arrangements bought little by way of loyalty.

Chroniclers thought it particularly worth remarking upon when imperial lords, enfeoffed with Capetian-Valois money or not, took up arms on the part of the king. The participation of these lords in campaigns such as Philippe III's abortive Castilian venture,²⁰⁷ or Philippe VI's Flemish war,²⁰⁸ or, most spectacularly, the battle of Crécy, where the Dionysians began their list of those killed with John of Bohemia,²⁰⁹ was a clear sign of French prestige. At the same time this participation remained the consequence of personal arrangements and personal relationships. The Duke of Brabant's participation in Philippe's III's Castilian expedition was, for example, noted by one anonymous chronicler with

²⁰⁴ Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, p. 350.

²⁰⁵ Leroux, p. 120.

²⁰⁶ Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, p. 350.

²⁰⁷ *Gesta Philippi Regis Franciae, filii sanctae memoriae regis Ludovici*, p. 504; *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, p. 93; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 65.

²⁰⁸ *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 84.

²⁰⁹ *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 283. For an account of the battle and the English campaign leading up to it: C. J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy Under Edward III, 1327–1360* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), pp. 238–72.

the comment that he was the brother of the queen, Marie de Brabant.²¹⁰ Imperial lords such as the Duke were involved not simply in various disputes but in the wider aspects of the shared chivalric culture of the northern milieu, a culture exemplified by the tournaments which brought them into close contact with barons subject to the direct lordship of the French king. The Capetian-Valois kings made an unwitting contribution to fostering this shared culture: Louis IX's decision to ban tournaments within France — a policy reiterated by his successors — led to the increased participation of French lords in those events held in the imperial lands bordering the kingdom.²¹¹ Yet in spite of a shared chivalric culture, the principles which governed the relationship between imperial lords and the Capetian-Valois kings remained fundamentally different from those which governed the relations between the king and those considered to be French barons, such as, from 1315,²¹² the archbishop of Lyon. The Capetian-Valois kings did much in practice to undermine the relationship between imperial princes and their nominal rulers but they did little in theory.

The counts of Guînes were recognized to be vassals of the counts of Flanders, but it was less than clear whether their lands lay in 'French' Flanders or 'imperial' Flanders²¹³ and, consequently, whether they were rear-vassals of the king or the emperor.²¹⁴ In 1212 Philippe Auguste had appeared to settle the matter by treating Count Arnoul II (1206–20/21) as a French vassal²¹⁵ and his participation alongside Philippe at Bouvines did not escape the notice of at least

²¹⁰ 'Li rois crut bon conseil, et manda les baronz de partout son roiaume, et il i vinrent efforcement, et meesment d'Alemaigne, li dus de Braibant, qui estoit freres sa fame, li quens de Julers, et mainz autres', *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, p. 93.

²¹¹ Vale, p. 188. On the role of tournaments in aristocratic society: Vale, pp. 184–200; J. Bumke, *Höfische Kultur: Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, 2 vols (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 1986), 1, 365–75. Ties between imperial and French lords were further strengthened by the adoption of many other aspects of French aristocratic culture by the former: Bumke, *Höfische Kultur*, 1, 83–136.

²¹² Galland, p. 605.

²¹³ Concerning the question of what could be considered 'imperial' Flanders: F. Lot, 'La frontière de la France et de l'Empire sur le cours inférieur de l'Escaut du IX^e au XIII^e siècle', *BEC*, 71 (1910), 5–32.

²¹⁴ M. Chanteux-Vasseur, *Étude géographique et historique sur le comté de Guînes, des origines à 1283*, Positions des thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion de 1935 (Paris: École nationale des chartes, 1935), p. 61.

²¹⁵ Chanteux-Vasseur, *Étude géographique et historique sur le comté de Guînes*, p. 62.

one contemporary chronicler.²¹⁶ In the mid-1230s Count Baudouin III (1220/21–45/47) appears to have attempted to use this to his advantage. According to Philippe Mousket, the Count was keen to escape Frederick II's summons commanding imperial vassals to participate in the siege of Milan.²¹⁷ Baudouin appears to have hoped that Louis would levy an objection to his participation but when he asked leave of the King to answer the summons, Louis granted it, much, perhaps, to Baudouin's consternation.²¹⁸ Bereft of his excuse the Count had little choice but to depart and hope that his delay would be overlooked.²¹⁹

In light of the rapid decline in Franco-imperial relations that had occurred as a result of Frederick's marriage to the English king's sister, Isabella, in 1235, the permission that Louis granted to Baudouin requires some explanation. To some extent, it may lie in the fact that the Count of Guînes was a notorious English supporter²²⁰ and Louis cannot but have been glad to be rid of him. There is cause to believe that matters were not quite this straightforward. Louis had simultaneously raised no objection to the participation of Raymond of Toulouse in Frederick's siege.²²¹ Raymond was clearly Louis's vassal, but he was also Frederick's vassal for the Comtat-Venaissin, and it was most probably this factor that led to the French king's acquiescence in Raymond's participation at Milan.

Frederick had every right to expect Raymond's attendance at Milan; it is possible that Louis believed that the same applied to Baudouin. Philippe Mousket's account implied that Louis had recognized Baudouin to be his vassal, yet the King's willingness to allow him to answer the imperial summons suggests that Louis also considered Baudouin to be under some obligation to the Empire. If so, the King was unwilling to permit the count to use his French vassalage as an excuse to avoid his imperial obligations. Louis, in effect, recognized the legitimacy of imperial jurisdiction, even in a case where its very existence was debatable. Is this recognition remarkable, though, given that Louis can have had, despite the English marriage, little reason to want to offend

²¹⁶ *Extrait d'une chronique française des rois de France, par un anonyme de Béthune*, p. 768.

²¹⁷ *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 29575–77, p. 63.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, lines 29927–32, p. 66.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, lines 30071–78, p. 68.

²²⁰ Chanteux-Vasseur, p. 63.

²²¹ Richard, *Louis*, p. 113.

Frederick? The Emperor was at the height of his powers in the mid-1230s, and Baudouin, if not Raymond, was, after all, something of a non-entity.

According to the minstrel of Reims, Louis displayed a similar concern that imperial jurisdiction be respected when he came to consider his brother's occupation of the county of Hainaut in 1254, four years after Frederick's death. The French king concluded that Charles d'Anjou *ne la tenoit pas assez rainablement*, because he had occupied the county without the permission of its *souverain seigneur*.²²² The latter, *de cui on la tenoit*, was clearly the German king and Charles, although he had been supported and enfeoffed by the Countess Marguerite of Flanders, was not considered by Louis to hold the county legitimately because he did so *sans lui* [the German king] *faire homage*.²²³ This respect for imperial rights and jurisdiction was not unique to Louis, or, at least, to the portraits painted of him by the lay writers Philippe Mousket and the minstrel of Reims.

Louis VIII had anticipated the possibility that his Albigenian crusade might lead him to impinge upon territories *in imperio* long before he arrived before the walls of Avignon. In order to pre-empt the problems that might result, the King had imposed upon Honorius III the condition that the Pope should arrange the Emperor's consent to precisely the sort of punitive action in which Louis became involved in 1226.²²⁴ While there is little to suggest that Louis's anticipatory efforts proved successful, they illustrate, like the letters dispatched during the siege, a recognition that imperial jurisdiction could not simply be ignored and that infractions of it must at least be excused. A similar regard for imperial prerogatives can be found in the 1290s in the policies adopted by none other than Philippe IV.

Philippe hoped to establish his son, Philippe de Poitiers, as the inheritor of the county of Burgundy through a marriage to Jeanne de Bourgogne, daughter of Count Otto IV.²²⁵ Jeanne's right to inherit the county was strongly contested by a league of Burgundian nobles. As part of the negotiations that led up to their meeting at Quatrevaux, Albrecht of Habsburg agreed to hear Jeanne's case

²²² *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xl, p. 223.

²²³ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xl, p. 223.

²²⁴ Clause nine, *Petitio ad Papam pro Rege cum ibit in Albigesium contra haereticos*, ed. by M.-J.-J. Brial, J. Naudet, and P. C. F. Daunou, in *RHGF*, xix, 750-51 (p. 751); *Petit-Dutaillis*, no. 81, p. 460 (February 1224).

²²⁵ Redoutey, 'Philippe le Bel et la Franche-Comté', pp. 208, 213.

and permitted Philippe to advise her.²²⁶ Philippe not only went to the trouble of obtaining this agreement, but ensured that Albrecht confirmed these provisions when they met.²²⁷ The French chancery even seems to have opened a special inventory whose function, in part, appears to have been to keep track of material relating to the case.²²⁸ These actions suggest that the French king recognized that this was a matter that could only be settled legitimately in Albrecht's court, not his own.

Philippe took these steps in spite of the fact that an inventory of the state of comital fiefs and their value, prepared in 1295 as part of Count Otto's preparations for the sale of his county, had noted that *la baronnie du comté est franche*. This report had recognized that while the Count was the emperor's vassal, few specific rights were held from the latter, one exception being the guardianship of merchant routes. The churches of Besançon, in the guardianship of the emperor, were a further special case.²²⁹ While keen to avoid or delay the homage owed to Henry VII by his son,²³⁰ Philippe never failed to recognize that the county was not part of his kingdom and that this homage was owed in principle. The county was consistently treated as distinct from the kingdom in royal accounts and in 1306 Jews were not expelled from it when they were expelled from France.²³¹ Philippe de Poitiers, once he became king, explicitly stated that he wished to avoid doing homage to the emperor for his fief and in 1317, while taking steps to maintain practical control over the county, handed the actual title over to his wife.²³² The use of the phrase *Burgundia imperiali* by an anonymous chronicler writing at Caen in the mid-

²²⁶ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 77, p. 60; no. 78, pp. 60-61; no. 79, p. 61 (5 September 1299, Strasbourg).

²²⁷ Ibid., no. 86, p. 66; no. 87, pp. 66-67; no. 88, p. 67 (8 December 1299, Quatrevaux).

²²⁸ Labelled: 'In quodam rotulo, itemque: forma compromissi regis Romanorum Alberti et regis Francie cum quibusdam aliis tangentibus domicellam Burgundie', *ibid.*, no. 1257, pp. 1399-1400.

²²⁹ Redoutey, 'Philippe le Bel et la Franche-Comté', pp. 209-10.

²³⁰ Strayer, *Philip the Fair*, p. 355.

²³¹ Redoutey, 'Philippe le Bel et la Franche-Comté', p. 216, 228, n. 80.

²³² Lehugeur, I, 220-22.

fourteenth century²³³ suggests that Philippe and his son were not alone in adopting the attitude that the county remained very much within the imperial *mouvance*. Despite this regard for imperial rights, equally apparent in the installation of Philippe VI's son, the future Jean II, as Dauphine of Vienne,²³⁴ the legitimate expansion of the jurisdiction of the French king at the expense of that exercised by the emperor was not inconceivable.

Negotiating Expansion?

The acquisition of the imperial throne by a member of the Capetian-Valois dynasty would not, in itself, alter the relationship between the French kingdom and the Empire. The brief union of the crowns of France and Navarre illustrates that such unions were considered to be essentially matters of personal inheritance. Acquired by Philippe IV, who held Navarre through his wife, Jeanne de Champagne, the crown of Navarre passed to Philippe's son, the future Louis X, with Jeanne's death in 1305. With the accession of the Valois kings, Navarre ceased to be held in conjunction with the French crown and passed instead to Louis X's daughter, Jeanne. That a union of the imperial and French crowns would be considered similarly is suggested by the fact that several Carolingian rulers were considered to have possessed the Empire as an adjunct to the French kingdom which in no way altered their status as kings of France.

That the Carolingian union of French and imperial crowns was interpreted in terms of personal inheritance, and that any potential future union would be considered similarly, is suggested by the tendency in northern France to apply French norms governing dynastic inheritance to the Empire. That any such union was personal and did not alter the integrity of kingdom or Empire was certainly the opinion of the citizens of Valenciennes, who made clear to Philippe IV that even when kings of France had been emperors in the past as, according to the citizens, Lothar had been, the kingdom and Empire had remained distinct: the king-emperor *palloient ou royaume comme roy et en l'empire comme empereur*.²³⁵ As has been seen, a similar idea lay behind Philippe

²³³ *E chronico anonymi Cadomensis ad annum M.CCC.XLIII perducto*, ed. by N. de Wailly and L. Delisle, in *RHGF*, xxii, 21–26 (p. 23).

²³⁴ Galland, pp. 622–23.

²³⁵ Cited from: Boutaric, p. 386, n. 1.

VI's officials's misconception that Charles le Chauve's administration of the Empire was kept separate from his administration of the kingdom by the employment of a method for sealing documents in France distinct from that used in the Empire. The idea of actually expanding the limits of the kingdom, as opposed to accumulating additional crowns, was infrequently considered. It seems probable that those who did consider it believed that for such expansion to take place legitimately it would be necessary for certain conditions to be met. The most important of these was the agreement of all the parties involved.

The meeting that took place between Philippe IV and Albrecht of Habsburg on 8 December 1299 largely formalized agreements that had been worked out several months earlier, for the most part at Neufchâteau, and which had already received preliminary endorsement.²³⁶ These included a peace treaty between the two rulers²³⁷ and an agreement to hold an enquiry into the precise location of boundaries.²³⁸ The latter confirmed the decision, taken at Neufchâteau in June 1299²³⁹ and confirmed by Albrecht in August,²⁴⁰ to appoint a committee of four to six persons to judge contested border questions, excluding those relating to Burgundy. The meeting also confirmed the proposed marriage between Blanche and Rudolf.²⁴¹ The first formal steps towards this had been taken in June²⁴² and draft proposals had been agreed by Philippe and Albrecht in August.²⁴³ It also dealt with the question of Burgundy by confirming Jeanne de Bourgogne's right to bring litigation before Albrecht's court.²⁴⁴ Only one significant act, a donation made by Albrecht to his son and prospective daughter-in-law, appears wholly original to this apparently carefully co-ordinated encounter.²⁴⁵

²³⁶ Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, pp. 313–15; Kern, *Die Anfänge*, pp. 190–213.

²³⁷ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 82, p. 63. Albrecht's preliminary endorsement: *ibid.*, no. 76, pp. 59–60 (5 September 1299, Strasbourg).

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 83, pp. 63–64.

²³⁹ Leroux, pp. 99–100.

²⁴⁰ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 72, p. 56.

²⁴¹ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 84, pp. 64–65; no. 85, pp. 65–66.

²⁴² Leroux, p. 100.

²⁴³ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 74, p. 58.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 86, p. 66; no. 87, pp. 66–67; no. 88, p. 67. Originally issued by Albrecht: *ibid.*, no. 77, p. 60; no. 78, pp. 60–61; no. 79, p. 61 (5 September 1299, Strasbourg).

²⁴⁵ Y. Lanhers, 'Le dossier d'Albert d'Autriche aux Archives et à la Bibliothèque Nationales de Paris', *Sonderabdruck aus der Festschrift des Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs*, 1 (1949), 441–57 (p. 443, no. 15).

The purpose of the Quatrevaux meeting was almost certainly to cement publicly a dynastic alliance which, from Albrecht's point of view, would stabilize his dynasty, and from Philippe's, create a new zone of Capetian dynastic influence. Albrecht himself had sought a marriage alliance with the Capetians as early as 1295.²⁴⁶ This dynastic purpose is emphasized in the centrepiece of the Quatrevaux meeting, the peace accord concluded between the two rulers. The promises made in the accord would bind Albrecht's heirs as they would Philippe's.²⁴⁷ The parallel drawn between Albrecht's heirs and those of Philippe, in connection with the absence of any reference to the elective nature of imperial rule, conveyed the impression that those who would succeed Albrecht in the Empire would be his descendants just as Philippe's descendants would succeed him in the French kingdom. This was, in essence, a statement of an alliance between two dynasties rather than simply between two kings.

It has been suggested that Quatrevaux may have had a second purpose. Leroux argued that Albrecht and Philippe must have come to a secret arrangement which envisioned the former handing over large swathes of imperial territory to the latter.²⁴⁸ Although most subsequent historians have tended to adopt a more cautious note,²⁴⁹ many have accepted that there may have been an informal agreement on Albrecht's part to such an arrangement or at least an understanding that the Habsburgs would make no attempt to interfere in the extension of Capetian authority over western imperial lands.²⁵⁰

The French chancery took pains to draw up a list of the agreements made in the lead up to Quatrevaux, those actually concluded at the meeting, and those made in its wake.²⁵¹ While it is not possible to determine the precise content of some of the letters they included in their list, none of the descriptions indicate that any contained an agreement to Philippe's acquisition of imperial lands on the western bank of the Rhine. It seems unlikely that even the most negligent

²⁴⁶ Lanhers, 'Le dossier d'Albert d'Autriche', p. 444, no. 18 (6 March 1295, Vienna).

²⁴⁷ '[. . .] pro nobis nostrisque heredibus, successoribus in Romano regno nobis succedentibus predicto regi Francie suisque heredibus, successoribus in regno Francie succedentibus', MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 82, p. 63.

²⁴⁸ Leroux, pp. 104, 106–09.

²⁴⁹ Strayer, for example, considered it 'likely' that Albrecht accepted the Meuse as a boundary at Quatrevaux: *Philip the Fair*, p. 352.

²⁵⁰ For examples of such views: Boutaric, pp. 399–400; Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, pp. 316–17.

²⁵¹ Labelled: 'Inventarium litterarum Aleman. regis.', MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 91, p. 70.

scribe would have overlooked documentation relating to such an important subject if such documentation had existed. Albrecht's and Philippe's apparent participation in a ceremony which witnessed the laying of border markers, and the fact that two days before meeting the French king Albrecht confirmed the findings of his father's 1288 border enquiry,²⁵² mitigate against such an agreement.

The basis for Leroux's conviction that there had been a secret arrangement was a rumour that seems to have gained rapid currency in France. Guillaume de Nangis noted that in addition to confirming an alliance, Albrecht, with the German barons and prelates, agreed that the authority of the French king, which presently reached up to the Meuse, should be extended up to the Rhine: '[. . .] concessum fuisse dicitur quod regum Franciae potestatis suae terminus, qui solum usque ad Mosam fluvium se extendunt, usque ad fluentia Rheni fluminis dilataret [. . .]'.²⁵³ Guillaume, who died in 1300, must have written his account within a few months of the meeting having taken place. That he misplaced the encounter to Vaucouleurs, misdated it by a week to around 30 November, and passed over in silence most of what had been agreed, casts some doubts upon the accuracy of his account.²⁵⁴ Yet it is more likely Guillaume reported, rather than invented, the rumour of Albrecht's concession: at approximately the same time as Guillaume was writing, Pierre Dubois reported a similar suggestion in a work intended for the King, his *Summaria brevis* (1300).

Dubois did not specify precisely where and when the agreement, which he considered to have been made in return for French support for the Habsburg dynasty, was concluded. Dubois's version, which he recounted with the note that it was not his own idea but something that was said, was more extensive than that given by Guillaume. In addition to the land on the right bank of the Rhine, Dubois

²⁵² MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 81, p. 62 (6 December 1299, Toul).

²⁵³ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, 1, 308.

²⁵⁴ The decision by Guillaume and several other writers to situate the meeting at Vaucouleurs may reflect the fact that this was simply the nearest large town to Quatrevaux. However, as Vaucouleurs was on the 'French' bank of the Meuse and Quatrevaux some distance across the river on the 'imperial' side it may also represent a conscious decision to avoid implying that Philippe crossed to the 'imperial' side of the river to meet with Albrecht, a detail that might be misinterpreted to imply an inequality existed in the French king's relationship with the German ruler.

believed the agreement had included the kingdom of Arles²⁵⁵ and Lombardy, an area, in sum, that would extend from the southern sea to the northern: '[. . .] ut dicitur, supremum dominium regni Arelatensis et terrarum citra Rinum Coloniensem et Lombardiam a mare meridionali usque septentrionale existentium [...]'.²⁵⁶

Little effort appears to have been made to dispel this rumour: Dubois was still under the impression that such an agreement had been made five years later. In his *De recuperatione* Dubois noted that it was said to have been agreed that the King would at least acquire lordship over the counties of Provence and Savoy, and imperial rights in Lombardy, Genoa, and, erroneously, as contemporary emperors did not exercise jurisdiction there, Venice.²⁵⁷ However, he now appeared slightly less certain that the lands to the west of the Rhine would be included.²⁵⁸ Although it was by no means integral to all accounts given of the meeting at Quatrevaux,²⁵⁹ the essence of Guillaume de Nangis's version, albeit in a slightly re-worded form, appeared in the Dionysian continuation of Géraud de Frachet's chronicle,²⁶⁰ from which it was translated into the

²⁵⁵ The rumour that Albrecht had ceded the kingdom of Arles appeared in at least one German chronicle: Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, p. 315.

²⁵⁶ *Summaria brevis*, p. 5.

²⁵⁷ By the early-fourteenth century the Venetians had been long established as, to all intents and purposes, their own masters. Venetian dependence on the Greek empire had been agreed between the eastern and western emperors in 814. In subsequent centuries the Venetians and their doge — in origin a Byzantine official — had established their independence from the former while maintaining good, if occasionally strained relations with the latter. For the agreement of 814: P. Longworth, *The Rise and Fall of Venice* (London: Constable, 1974), pp. 14–15. For tenth-century relations with the Ottonians, *ibid.*, p. 32; for the Venetian role as arbiter in the dispute between Frederick Barbarossa and the papacy, *ibid.*, pp. 51–52. For a more detailed account of the development of the serene republic and its precarious position between the eastern and western empires see part one of J. J. Norwich, *A History of Venice* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), pp. 3–143.

²⁵⁸ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 116, p. 104.

²⁵⁹ For example: *Fragment d'une chronique anonyme, finissant en M.CCC.XXVIII*, p. 147, where the meeting is misplaced to Vaucouleurs but its purpose noted only as *pour faire aliances*.

²⁶⁰ *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, pp. 17–18. Like Guillaume this misplaced the meeting to Vaucouleurs, but dated it rather more vaguely to the four week period before Christmas (*circa Adventus Domini*).

scriptorium's most successful work, the 1340s *Grandes Chroniques*²⁶¹ and appeared similarly in the earlier text compiled for Pierre Honoré.²⁶²

The possibility that a transfer of lands may have been discussed is supported not only by the proliferation of rumours but also by the declaration of a group of German prelates, led by the Archbishops of Cologne and Mainz, that they would refuse to consent to any alienations arranged at the Quatrevaux meeting.²⁶³ This protest and the refusal, despite Jean de Saint-Victor's convictions to the contrary,²⁶⁴ of the ecclesiastical electors to consent to the proposed marriage,²⁶⁵ were probably intended to frustrate the possible transformation of the German kingship into an hereditary possession. Yet some suggestion that Albrecht may have contemplated alienating the region on the west bank of the Rhine comes from the involvement of the Bishops of Toul, Cambrai, and Liège in the protest.²⁶⁶ The desire to allay the fears of these prelates may explain why Albrecht chose to confirm the 1288 Franco-imperial border enquiry the day after the episcopal protest was issued.²⁶⁷ True, false, or simply stillborn, the supposed Quatrevaux agreement is extremely informative.

The rumours reported by both Guillaume de Nangis and Pierre Dubois offer further confirmation that general boundaries were considered to follow the guidelines offered by rivers. As Dubois noted the French king's authority would extend over *totam terram sitam citra Rinum Coloniensem*.²⁶⁸ Fundamentally, this extension of French authority would occur through the cooperation of the German king. The importance attached to consent is highlighted by the

²⁶¹ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 186–87.

²⁶² BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 384^r–384^v. That the dating here resembles that employed in the continuation of Gérard de Frachet's chronicle suggests a textual relationship. This would support Lemoine's suggestion (*Chronique de Richard Lescot*, p. xl) that Richard Lescot's Dionysian continuation of Gérard de Frachet's chronicle can be divided into two parts: a section for the years 1285–1316, presumably Dionysian, completed around 1316 (which Thomas de Maubeuge's *atelier* might, therefore, have employed in drawing up Pierre Honoré's manuscript in 1318) and a section from 1316–44 prepared by Richard himself.

²⁶³ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 80, pp. 61–62 (5 December 1299, Toul).

²⁶⁴ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 635.

²⁶⁵ Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, p. 317.

²⁶⁶ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 80, pp. 61–62.

²⁶⁷ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 81, p. 62.

²⁶⁸ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 116, p. 104.

emphasis placed upon the participation of the German prelates and barons in both Dionysian²⁶⁹ and non-Dionysian²⁷⁰ traditions of the *Grandes Chroniques*.

John of Bohemia, in 1332–33, conceived a plan which was almost certainly founded upon similar principles to that rumoured after 1299. In return for Philippe VI's support in displacing Ludwig of Bavaria from the German throne, John offered to cede to Philippe the kingdom of Arles and the bishopric of Cambrai.²⁷¹ Although it was ultimately brought to nothing through the strenuous efforts of Robert d'Anjou,²⁷² if such a plan had been enacted it would have seen an expansion of the boundaries of the French kingdom based upon the consent of all the parties involved. When this did not prove possible Philippe, as is illustrated by the case of the archbishopric of Vienne and the purchase of the Dauphiné, continued to respect the principle that the region on the left bank of the Rhône lay *in imperio*. It was possible to conceive of the expansion of the French kingdom; yet this necessitated the active co-operation of the ruler of the Empire if it was to be acceptable. Legitimacy, in this case, was a product of collective consent.

The Capetian-Valois kings were indisputably intent upon extending their influence over the lords in neighbouring regions and their efforts to do this proved more and more successful. Yet, contrary to Joseph Strayer's belief, many of Philippe IV's contemporaries in northern France, perhaps even the King himself, would have been as horrified as Rudolf of Habsburg at the suggestion that the French king aimed to extend his authority at the expense of the Empire. Philippe's actions were dramatic, but they were conceived, not as the annexation of imperial allods or fiefs and their integration into the French kingdom, but as acts by which *French* allods and *French* fiefs were to be consolidated and brought more firmly under royal control. Little but the intensity with which it was pursued divided Philippe's approach from that of his grandfather or his immediate successors. The King almost certainly would have regarded Guillaume le Breton's exhortation to his great-grandfather, Louis VIII, as equally applicable to himself: he should follow in Charlemagne's

²⁶⁹ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 308; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 18; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 186.

²⁷⁰ BnF, MS fr. 10132, fol. 384^r.

²⁷¹ Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, pp. 391–405; Margue, 'Jean de Luxembourg', p. 83; Contamine, 'À l'ombre des fleurs de lis', p. 120.

²⁷² Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, pp. 401–02.

footsteps and extend his patrimony up to its limits.²⁷³ This does not necessarily imply, however, that Philippe, for all his ambition, believed he could simply annex any part of the lands his Carolingian predecessors had held in their capacity as emperors without any further consideration.²⁷⁴ Philippe almost certainly had a general idea of what his patrimony *should* be, and in this he differed little from his predecessors, his sons, and their Valois successor. The limits of the French kingdom in the east were, unquestionably, the Rhône, the Saône, the Meuse, and the Scheldt. Philippe knew this not because it was some clever invention of his lawyers, but for the same reason that his grandfather had known it: he was informed of it by his historians. As Bernard Guenée has noted, the idea that the four rivers formed the limits of the French kingdom was a simplified description of Charles le Chauve's kingdom promoted by Sigebert de Gembloux and repeated as an item of faith by those who built upon his foundations.²⁷⁵

The Capetian-Valois kings avoided the exercise of authority over lordships where it was not possible to establish 'proof' that they pertained to the French kingdom because, in part, to do so would imply that the French king was dependent upon and hence subordinate to the emperor. Even if, like Count Otto IV, an imperial lord should claim to hold his lands freely, his lordship remained within the bounds of imperial jurisdiction and the authority that the French kings were able to exercise with regard to it was perceived to be limited. Such an attitude was probably encouraged by the imperial princes themselves: Otto was something of an exception, as, for the most part, imperial princes can have had little inclination to see the weak theoretical claims of rulers such as

²⁷³ *Philippide*, bk xii, lines 831–33, p. 380.

²⁷⁴ Gabrielle Spiegel recognized the 'political potential of the Carolingian legacy' apparent in Guillaume le Breton's verses, part of the poet's exhortation to Louis VIII to extend France to the Pyrenees where Charlemagne had set up camp: *Past as Text*, p. 133. She almost certainly goes too far, however, in interpreting Capetian understanding of this potential as involving the whole of Charlemagne's imperial 'inheritance'. As I suggest in chapter four, the key to the significance of the Carolingian legacy, from a Capetian perspective, was Charlemagne's 'patrimony', that is the French kingdom.

²⁷⁵ Guenée, 'Des limites féodales', p. 19. It is notable that local traditions, while they often agreed that the Franco-imperial border lay at a river, could differ from Sigebert and his successors's view of which river it ought to be. A classic case is Verdun where the local inhabitants considered the river boundary to be the Biesme and not the Meuse: Guenée, 'Des limites féodales', p. 22.

Richard of Cornwall replaced with the powerful hand of the Capetian-Valois kings.

The attitude of French kings arose as a consequence of the perspective that the Empire was not simply a territorially limited institution, but one whose boundaries were imbued with a theoretical near-immutability, alterable only by obtaining common consent. Contemporary views of the abiding nature of the Franco-imperial frontier are reflected in the comments of one inventive early-fourteenth-century chronicler who envisioned Philippe IV's envoy to Adolf of Nassau reminding the King of the Romans of the mutual oaths he and the French king had taken at their coronations not to interfere in each others's fiefs.²⁷⁶ This conception of near-immutability almost certainly reflected another facet of a concern with the idea of disenfranchisement. This latter made it difficult to justify any act that could be perceived to ignore the pre-existent rights of the emperor. Again the Empire can be seen to have been conceived as a slightly distorted reflection of the French kingdom: the emperor, like the French king, ruled over a limited, though theoretically precisely defined, territorial entity. At the same time the imperial office was perceived to differ profoundly from that of a king. From a French perspective the emperor, and to a lesser extent the Empire, were considered to exist to fulfil specific and unique functions in a properly ordered Christian society.

²⁷⁶ '[...] et que à son couronnement il [Adolf] avoit serement que il n'acroistroit point ses fiefz sur le royaume de France, et le roy de France avoit aussi juré a son sacre que il n'entreprenroit riens sur les fiefz de l'empire. Si lui prioit que il gardast bien son serement, aussi que le roy de France vouloit le sien garder.', *Chronique normande du XIV^e siècle*, p. 8. This stern moral exhortation, none of which was remotely true, was said to have been delivered to Adolf by Jacques de Saint-Pol shortly before he successfully attempted to bribe the German ruler (see chapter three).

AN IMPERIAL VOCATION?

The Empire was not universal, nor was the temporal authority of its rulers all-encompassing. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was conceived in terms of a territorially limited political unit incorporating a number of kingdoms, conspicuous amongst which was Lombardy, particularly prominent in accounts of Henry VII's *Romzug*.¹ Amongst the other kingdoms it embraced was Bohemia, whose inhabitants were noted by Jean de Saint-Victor, with a number of other peoples such as the Poles, as having become subject to German kings and emperors despite once having had their own kings and dukes.² A third element in this composite was the kingdom of Arles. In spite of the efforts made by Popes Nicholas III³ and Clement V⁴ to reconstitute this kingdom to the benefit of the Angevins — and by John of Bohemia⁵ to reconstitute it to the benefit of Philippe VI — the

¹ Henry's coronation in Milan introduces lengthy accounts of the emperor-elect's sojourn in Lombardy in several chronicles: *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, lines 3808–09, p. 163; Second Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 381; *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 655; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 35; *Flores chronicorum*, p. 720. Concerning imperial authority in northern Italy: F. Kern, 'Die Reichsgewalt des deutschen Königs nach dem Interregnum: Zeitgenössische Theorien', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 106 (1911), 39–95.

² 'In Germanica regione sunt et alie gentes que olim habuerunt duces et reges, sed imperatori seu regi Alemannie subiectos, ut Thuringi, Austrasii, Polonii, Boemii, Baioarii et Norenses, de quibus faciunt raro hystorie quas vidi mencionem [. . .]', *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), 238. Jean's remark that histories rarely mention these peoples seems largely true in the French milieu.

³ Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, pp. 229–55; Runciman, pp. 184–85; Resmini, pp. 149–74.

⁴ Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, pp. 352–58; Bowsky, *Henry*, pp. 23–25.

⁵ Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, pp. 391–405.

kingdom was rarely referred to by French writers.⁶ The tendency to overlook the kingdom of Arles was probably a consequence of the obscurity into which it had slipped, a fact highlighted by John of Saxony when writing to Rudolf of Habsburg.⁷

Although a composite of several distinct kingdoms, it was not automatically the case that 'crowns' should become subsumed within the Empire. In the course of noting Frederick II's condemnation by Pope Gregory IX, the annalist of Saint-Médard of Soissons, in addition to describing Frederick as Roman emperor, simultaneously considered him to be King of Lombardy, Germany, Apulia, Sicily, and Jerusalem.⁸ In particular, kingdoms which were the pre-existent patrimony of those who obtained the imperial throne, such as France in the case of Charlemagne, or Sicily in the case of Frederick II, habitually remained distinct, as did those acquired subsequent to imperial accession, such as Jerusalem in the case of the Hohenstaufen. Louis IX, for example, chose, when addressing Frederick in 1247, to term him both Roman emperor and King of Jerusalem and Sicily.⁹ The Empire possessed precise boundaries, even if their exact location remained unclear and along the length of its western frontier became, with increasing frequency, a source of contention.

While possessed of temporal jurisdiction over multiple kingdoms, possibly even the whole of the west, excluding the kingdom of France, the emperor differed little, at first glance, from other kings. In fact, in many ways he appears as a slightly distorted image of French kingship. In practice it was recognized that the imperial princes elected each new ruler. Yet succession in the Empire was considered to be governed by dynastic principles not dissimilar to those

⁶ Pierre Dubois provides a rare example: *Summaria brevis*, p. 5.

⁷ MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 258, p. 253 (5 September 1281).

⁸ *Ex Annalibus S. Medardi Suessionensibus*, p. 522.

⁹ *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vi, 501 (February/March 1247). That Louis was willing to accord Frederick the title 'king of Jerusalem' is a further indication of the extent to which the French king was keen to maintain cordial relations with the Stauffer. Frederick certainly considered himself to be the ruler of the Latin east, but his position as such, even before his papal deposition, was somewhat precarious. He held the title by right of his wife, Isabella de Brienne, and the lawyers of Outremer had questioned his right to it as early as her death in 1228: Abulafia, *Frederick*, pp. 150, 172–73. The coming of age in 1243 of Conrad, the Emperor's son by Isabella, only strengthened their case: Richard, *Louis*, p. 177. This ambiguity may explain why the title is absent from a list of Frederick's titles given by Geoffroi de Collon in his list of Roman emperors: 'rex Alemannie, rex Sylicie, princeps Apulie, dux Calabrie', *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 22.

which defined legitimate succession in the French kingdom and which were perceived to apply to the laity more generally. The temporal authority exercised by rulers of the Empire was considered to be in essence hereditary and in principle inalienable.

Such a sketch of French perceptions remains incomplete. It does not explain several aspects of the depiction of the Empire and its rulers in the French cultural milieu. Most conspicuous amongst these unexplained features are the levels of interest evoked by the deposition of Frederick II and by the *Romzüge* of Henry VII and Ludwig of Bavaria. Even allowing for Guillaume de Nangis's efforts to vilify the last Hohenstaufen emperor and the reflected warmth of Valois-Luxembourg relations in assessments of Henry's and Ludwig's Italian enterprises, the attention paid to these particular events remains extraordinary. It stands in marked contrast with French attitudes towards other would-be rulers of the Empire and to the lack of interest in, for example, Innocent IV's decision, taken a week after condemning Frederick, to deprive Sancho II of Portugal of the right to administer his kingdom (if not technically to depose him).¹⁰

The metrical chronicle traditionally attributed to Geffroy de Paris characterized what Henry VII had acceded to upon his election as *la hautesce* of the Empire.¹¹ Seventy years earlier Louis IX had considered the Empire in similar terms. Frederick II's imprisonment of the French prelates travelling to the papal council summoned to meet in Rome in 1241 was an incident far more damaging to Capetian-Staufer relations than even the English marriage of 1235.¹² Yet even when Louis protested at Frederick's actions in the strongest possible terms, he recognized that up to his own time his ancestors had honoured a distinctive and elevated quality inherent in the Empire and professed that he himself intended to continue to do so.¹³ Louis's sentiments echoed in Dionysian pages. A version of his letter was incorporated into the *Gesta Ludovici* by Guillaume de Nangis¹⁴ and the *Gesta's* translator noted that

¹⁰ P. Linehan, 'Castile, Portugal and Navarre', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. by D. Abulafia and others, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), v, 668–99 (pp. 684–85).

¹¹ *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, lines 3746–47, p. 162.

¹² Labarge, p. 85; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, p. 164; Stürner, II, 508.

¹³ '[. . .] honorem imperii et sublimitatem zelaverint [. . .]', *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vi, 18 (end of 1241).

¹⁴ *Gesta sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis Franciae*, p. 332.

French kings *ont tousjourz ame et honnoure la solemnel hautesce de lempire de Roume*.¹⁵ The latter comments were included in the version of the *Grandes Chroniques* owned by, amongst others, the future Jean II¹⁶ and that prepared in the abbey in the 1340s.¹⁷ It may be suggested that it was this *hautesce* or, as Jean de Saint-Victor described what Henry VII was permitted to obtain, the dignity of the Empire,¹⁸ which differentiated the Empire from other kingdoms and provoked interest in the deposition of Frederick II and in the *Romzüge* of Henry and Ludwig. What, though, was the purpose of this dignity and how did it relate to the western emperor's role as the ruler of the limited territorial Empire?

A German Kingdom and a German Empire?

When Henry VII died, according to the metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris, *il perdi royaume et empire*.¹⁹ A tendency to separate the German kingdom from the Empire was not uncommon in the northern French cultural milieu. It was apparent, for example, in the annals of Saint-Médard, probably written in the 1250s, which noted Frederick's possession of the kingdom of *Alemanie* separately and alongside the fact that Frederick was Emperor of the Romans.²⁰ Such a separation was implicit in the Dionysian continuator of Géraud de Frachet's note of Ludwig of Bavaria's claim that he was *rex Alemannorum et imperator Romanorum*.²¹ This phrase is remarkably reminiscent of the tendency of the abbey of Saint-Denis, and other sources in France, to separate the French kingdom from the Empire when discussing Carolingian emperors, particularly Charlemagne. French perceptions of the relationship between German kingship and the rulership of the Empire appear, however, to have been rather less clear-cut than the sharp distinction drawn between the Carolingians as kings of France and as emperors. For example, the idea of two

¹⁵ *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, p. 333.

¹⁶ *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 27.

¹⁷ *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 84.

¹⁸ 'Imperii dignitatem', *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 654.

¹⁹ *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, line 5241, p. 190.

²⁰ *Ex Annalibus S. Medardi Suessionensibus*, p. 522.

²¹ *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 69.

distinct entities, but not a simple separation between German kingdom and Empire, was apparent in Primat's description of Frederick Barbarossa as *empereres de Rome et d'Alemagne*, a depiction incorporated into most versions of the *Grandes Chroniques*.²² Despite the frequent separation of 'Roman' and 'German' elements in French sources, it is, at first glance, difficult to discern any distinctive characteristics attached to the various titles applied to rulers of the Empire.

Rather than follow the wording adopted by Géraud's continuator, Guillaume de Nangis's third continuator noted that Ludwig, duke of Bavaria, made use of the title *rex Alemannorum*.²³ In contrast the later *Grandes Chroniques*, when translating this passage, opted for 'se faisoit [appeler] emperere des Romains',²⁴ and in an earlier passage noted that Ludwig had styled himself *roy de Romains* in his letters.²⁵ The apparently interchangeable nature of all these titles is, perhaps, most clearly exemplified by the continuation of Pierre Honoré's version of the *Grandes Chroniques*, according to which Ludwig: '[. . .] se fist couronner et appeler roi d'Alemaigne, et usurpa les drois de l'Empire, et se fist nommer en ses lettres roys des Romainz Auguste'.²⁶ That one title could simply be substituted for the other is again suggested by the practices of the archivists of the French court. The latter could label Albrecht of Habsburg 'King of Germany' in the general labelling and individual entries of one inventory of his letters,²⁷ while employing the label 'regis Romanorum' when compiling a second inventory containing French translations of Albrecht's epistles.²⁸

Although the German rulers styled themselves *rex Romanorum* from their coronation, the use of the title *rex Alemanniae*, *roi d'Alemaingne*, or a variant upon it, was, without doubt, the most frequent recourse of chroniclers and pamphleteers in France. The title *rex Theutoniae*, though much less common,

²² *Grandes Chroniques*, vi, 201.

²³ '[. . .] se regem Alemannorum publice nominans [. . .]', Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 82.

²⁴ *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 64.

²⁵ *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 38.

²⁶ *Grandes Chroniques* (BnF, MS fr. 10132 version), in *RHGF*, XXI, 684. Cf. *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 38.

²⁷ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 91, p. 70.

²⁸ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 1257, p. 1400.

was also occasionally employed.²⁹ The use of this latter may indicate a conscious desire — understandable in the case of a pro-papal writer such as Bernard Gui — to reflect a papal usage first developed by Pope Gregory VII (1073–85) during the Investiture Contest and designed to imply that German rulers did not exercise any claim to imperial authority prior to their coronation in Rome.³⁰ At the same time the application of a title involving a ‘Roman’ element to the ruler of the Empire was by no means uncommon in France. Undoubtedly in many cases the inclusion of a Roman element reflected the normal usage employed by both the German court and, in most cases, the papal curia,³¹ the clear influence of the former apparent from the references made in the *Grandes Chroniques* to the style adopted by Ludwig in his letters. Yet although at first glance the titles *rex Alemanniae* and *rex Romanorum* might appear interchangeable, it seems probable that they were not considered to be identical in France.

That the annalist of Saint-Médard was not alone in intimating that the Empire was not to be equated with the German kingdom and that the title ‘emperor’ was not simply an alternative for ‘king of Germany’ is suggested by the tendency to employ two titles, one Roman the other German, simultaneously. This tendency is highlighted by Bernard Gui, whose near-obsessive pedantry led him to oversee multiple recensions of his *Flores* and *Reges francorum*.³² Gui noted that Rudolf of Habsburg³³ and Henry VII³⁴ were each elected *in regem Alamanniae et Romanorum*, that Heinrich Raspe and William

²⁹ For example: *Antequam essent clerici*, p. 8; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 138; *Flores chronicorum*, pp. 696, 712. Primat characterized the Germans present at the battle of Benevento as *Alemans de Teuthonique: Chronique de Primat*, pp. 27–28.

³⁰ As Eckhard Müller-Mertens has demonstrated, the title *rex Romanorum* was developed by German rulers as an effective counterbalance to these papal efforts: E. Müller-Mertens, *Regnum Teutonicum. Aufkommen und Verbreitung der deutschen Reichs- und Königsauffassung im früheren Mittelalter*, *Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte*, 15 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1970).

³¹ For example: MGH *Constitutiones* 3, no. 625, p. 600 (27 June 1298, Rome).

³² A.-M. Lamarrigue, ‘La méthode historique de Bernard Gui, d’après la chronique des rois de France’, in *Bernard Gui et son monde (XVI^e Colloque de Fanjeaux, 1980)*, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 16 (Toulouse: Privat, 1981), pp. 205–19 (p. 206); Lamarrigue, *Bernard Gui*, pp. 249–68.

³³ *Flores chronicorum*, p. 702.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 718.

of Holland were each *rex Theutoniae et Romanorum*,³⁵ and that Albrecht was *rex Alamanniae et Romanorum*.³⁶ One of the clearest examples of a tendency to separate the German kingship from the imperial title appears in the universal chronicle of Geoffroi de Collon. In the emperor list preceding his chronicle proper Geoffroi adds not only the label 'Francorum rex' to a number of Carolingians,³⁷ but the epithet 'rex Alemannie' to certain other emperors.³⁸ In the chronicle itself such labels appear frequently, Otto I being the first *rex Alemannie* to become emperor, his father having been a German king but clearly not an emperor.³⁹ This dual usage almost certainly reflected a perception in France that the German kingship was separate from a second office. This separation is evident in attitudes towards the status of would-be imperial rulers in the aftermath of Frederick II's deposition.

While Vincent de Beauvais appears to have regarded the period after Frederick's deposition as one of imperial vacancy,⁴⁰ he recognized the succession of a German king: Heinrich Raspe was *rex Alemaniae*.⁴¹ The existence of an imperial vacancy was less ambiguous in two later accounts which drew upon Vincent's *Speculum historiale*. Adam de Clermont, in a version of his *Flores* which

³⁵ Ibid., p. 696.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 711.

³⁷ The label is applied to Charlemagne, Louis le Pieux, Charles le Chauve, and Louis le Bègue (concerning the latter's erroneous inclusion in the emperor-list see my comments in chapter four): *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, pp. 20–22.

³⁸ The first ruler in the list to receive the title is a certain 'Charles', said to be a relation of Louis le Bègue. The title then reappears later in the list and is applied consistently to rulers of the Empire from Conrad II to Frederick II, with the rather odd exceptions of Henry VI and Otto IV: *ibid.*, p. 22. Otto is mistakenly described as the brother of Henry VI (himself mistakenly labelled Henry V). Geoffroi was clearly confusing Otto with his opponent, Henry's brother Philip of Swabia. He was equally confused by the paternity of Frederick II, which is attributed to Frederick Barbarossa in the emperor-list. Geoffroi was aware of the actual state of affairs in both cases by the time he came to detail the relevant period in the chronicle itself. That these details were never corrected in the emperor-list suggests that the chronicler may have died before he had the opportunity to revise his text.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 324. Neither Otto nor his two immediate successors are labelled as *rex Alemannie* in Geoffroi's emperor list: *ibid.*, p. 22.

⁴⁰ Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 632.

⁴¹ *Speculum historiale*, bk xxxi, chap. i, p. 1286.

implied that Heinrich Raspe had been elected to Empire,⁴² may have believed this vacancy lasted only briefly.⁴³ An alternate version of Adam's work⁴⁴ undoubtedly considered that the vacancy, implied to be the first to occur since Caesar, continued up to 1270, the time at which Adam was preparing his compilation:

Fred[erico] ita[que] cond[empnato] anno Dom[ini] M.CC.XLIII. [sic] et ex hinc vacante Imperio, ab ipso anno usque ad annum Domini M.CC.LXX. tempora vacationis Imperii duximus prosequenda. Prius tamen omnium imperatorum Romanorum et Imperii invasorum annos et nomina a primo, scilicet Julio, usque ad ultimum, scilicet Fredericum secundum, seriatim duximus hic ponenda.⁴⁵

This appears to be the position Adam favoured in the version he dedicated to Gregory X, as the introduction he prepared for the pontiff suggested that the third part of his work would recount the events that had transpired in the period of imperial vacancy, that is from the first year of Frederick II's condemnation up to 1270.⁴⁶ Girard d'Auvergne appears to have taken up a similar position to that Adam, a fellow member of the Clermont scriptorium, adopted when writing for Gregory. Girard prefaced his account of the deposition of Frederick II with the stark statement: *Hic vacat Romanum Imperium*.⁴⁷ He made no suggestion that this period of vacancy had ended and in recounting the reigns of Heinrich, William, and Richard, Girard explicitly qualified the latter two as kings of Germany, as did Adam.⁴⁸ While he did not subscribe to an imperial vacancy so much as a total cessation of the Empire, Jean de Saint-Victor, in his *Tractatus de divisione regnorum*, made it equally clear that there was a distinction between Frederick and the rulers that came after him: since the death of the last

⁴² 'Landegravius Thuringiae [. . .] in imperatorem eligitur [. . .]', *Excerpta E Floribus Historiarum auctore Adamo Claromontensi*, p. 78.

⁴³ *Excerpta E Floribus Historiarum auctore Adamo Claromontensi*, p. 78.

⁴⁴ The manuscript tradition may represent a *Flores*, extant in eight copies, and a separate *Speculum gestorum mundi*, composed simultaneously and extant in five copies: Nadeau, 'Deux abrégés du *Speculum historiale*', pp. 422–37.

⁴⁵ *Excerpta E Floribus Historiarum auctore Adamo Claromontensi*, p. 78, n. 5.

⁴⁶ '[. . .] gesta vacationis Imperii a primo anno condemnationis dicti Frederici usque ad annum Domini M.CC.LXX [. . .]', *Excerpta E Floribus Historiarum auctore Adamo Claromontensi*, p. 77.

⁴⁷ *Abbreviatione Historiae Figuralis*, p. 215.

⁴⁸ *Abbreviatione Historiae Figuralis*, p. 215; *Excerpta E Floribus Historiarum auctore Adamo Claromontensi*, p. 78.

Hohenstaufen emperor there had been six *Alemannie reges, sed non imperatores Romani*.⁴⁹

In the 1240s Philippe Mousket had depicted German kingship as an authority which the emperor was able to exercise directly but which he was also able to bestow while in no way diminishing his own imperial status. Frederick II was counselled:

[...] qu'il enverrait
En Alemagne, et si feroit
Cel fil porter couronne là.⁵⁰

When making Henry (VII) king transpired to be something of an error of judgement, Frederick removed his son, symbolically placing the German crown back upon his own head and taking the kingdom back into his own hands:

L'emperères prist la couronne.
Sour son chief l'a mise pour voir
[...]
L'emperères s'en est alés,
Et li roiaumes est remés
En sa main⁵¹

Yet despite this apparent separation of German kingdom and Empire, the latter appears, from a northern French perspective, to have been imprinted with a particularly German character.

Rulers such as Henry VI⁵² and Frederick II⁵³ were frequently referred to as the *empereres d'Alemagne*. The *Quaestio in utramque partem* used the phrase 'Emperor of the Germans' to describe Otto I.⁵⁴ Pierre Dubois, while he generally separated the German kingdom and king from the Empire and its ruler,⁵⁵ could also speak of the *imperator Alemanniae*⁵⁶ or *regnum et imperium*

⁴⁹ *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (II), 236.

⁵⁰ *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 28547–49, p. 52.

⁵¹ *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 28644–45, p. 53; lines 28671–73, p. 53.

⁵² *Extrait d'une chronique française des rois de France, par un anonyme de Béthune*, pp. 758, 759; *Grandes Chroniques*, VI, 241.

⁵³ For example: *Chronique attribuée à Baudoin d'Avesnes*, p. 163; *Livre des saintes paroles*, § 326, p. 160, § 336, p. 164, § 452, p. 222.

⁵⁴ 'imperator Theutonicorum', *Quaestio in utramque partem*, p. 56.

⁵⁵ Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', pp. 74–75.

⁵⁶ *Deliberatio*, p. 46.

*Alemannie*⁵⁷ as could Aubri de Trois-Fontaines,⁵⁸ and those responsible for compiling Philippe VI's enquiry into the Ostrevant.⁵⁹ The Empire and its ruler were therefore rooted firmly within a German context. The western Empire, in the sense that it was an empire associated with a particular people or territory, was by no means considered to be a unique institution in thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century France. Contemporaries also recognized the simultaneous existence of at least two other institutions which could be qualified as empires. One was the 'Persian' empire: several contemporary *empereurs de Perse*, in reality the shāhs of the Khwarismian Turks, appeared in Joinville's account of Louis IX's first crusade.⁶⁰ More conspicuous was the Latin Empire of Constantinople sometimes referred to in France as the *imperium romaniae*,⁶¹ but more commonly by a variation on *l'empire de Costantinoble*.⁶²

Jean de Saint-Victor, at the time he wrote his *Tractatus*, may well have considered a German empire to be precisely what the Roman Empire had become and the German kings to have simply succeeded to the emperors. Yet Jean was notably uncertain about the origins of the German kingdom⁶³ and in the part of his *Memoriale* concerned with Henry VII, written at least five years after the *Tractatus*, noted at one point that Henry was *rex Alemanniae* while simultaneously labelling him with the phrase 'in imperatorem Romanum electus'.⁶⁴ Despite the German character of the western Empire, a distinction in French thought between it and the German kingdom was underlined by the fact that although the Empire was presently the possession of the Germans it was clear that this had not always been the case.

⁵⁷ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 116, p. 104.

⁵⁸ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 914.

⁵⁹ The *enquêteurs* note Charles le Chauve's actions in relation to *l'empire d'Allemagne*: Viard, 'L'Ostrevant. Enquête au sujet de la frontière française', p. 323.

⁶⁰ *Livre des saintes paroles*, § 486, pp. 238-40; § 528, p. 260.

⁶¹ For example: *Opusculum Galteri Cornuti, archiepiscopi Senonensis*, p. 29.

⁶² For example: *Grandes Chroniques*, vi, 263. For the Latin equivalent: Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, i, 311; *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (ii), 276. The second recension of Guillaume's universal chronicle qualified it as the Empire *Graecorum Franci et Latini*: Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, i, 153.

⁶³ 'De regno autem Alemannie seu Germanie sciendum quod eius originem vel finem non legi nisi cum Romanorum regno.', *Tractatus de divisione regnorum* (ii), 236.

⁶⁴ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 654.

As the *Quaestio in utramque partem* noted, the Franks had held the Empire before the Germans.⁶⁵ Nor was it clear that the German acquisition of the Empire should be regarded as definitive. This point was underlined by Charles d'Anjou, Pierre Dubois, and Jean de Jandun, as well as by several French kings, all of whom suggested or implied that the Empire might be translated to the French. Implicit in any such translation was the appropriation of jurisdiction over the German kingdom, to which exponents of such a plan, such as Philippe III's envoy to Gregory X in 1273⁶⁶ or Dubois,⁶⁷ added a series of peripheral benefits, such as jurisdiction over northern Italy. The German kingdom was considered to be the most substantial component of the western Empire in territorial terms, yet the chief characteristic of the Empire was not its German quality, which was perceived to be essentially transitory.

The Roman Connection and the Papacy

'Rome, Rome a Othon!' According to one anonymous French chronicler writing towards the end of Philippe Auguste's reign, this was the cry uttered by the ill-fated Emperor Otto IV on the field at Bouvines.⁶⁸ How, though, was the connection between Rome and the German emperor perceived in the northern French milieu? On one level the contemporary western empire held by the Germans had a relationship with the Roman Empire in that it was considered, in territorial terms, to be equivalent to the western portion of that empire. Following Vincent de Beauvais, the western Roman Empire had been bestowed on Pope Sylvester by Constantine and subsequently transferred to Charlemagne

⁶⁵ '[. . .] quia regnum Francorum prius habuerit imperium quam regnum Theutonicorum', *Quaestio in utramque partem*, p. 60.

⁶⁶ MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 618, p. 586, argument III.

⁶⁷ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 116, p. 104; *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, p. 209.

⁶⁸ 'Fragment de l'Histoire de Philippe Auguste roy de France', p. 114. The author's suggestion that 'Rome' was used as a rallying cry for imperial troops is plausible and reflects a usage that became common by the late-thirteenth century. 'Rome' was not, however, the exclusive rallying cry employed in the Empire: Rudolf of Habsburg's troops shouted 'Christ' at the battle of Marchfeld in 1278: *Continuatio Vindobonensis*, ed. by W. Wattenbach, MGH SS, 9, pp. 698–722 (p. 709). I am grateful to Dr Len Scales with whom I discussed this point and who kindly provided me with the latter reference.

by the Pope's successor.⁶⁹ Alternatively, as Jean de Saint-Victor suggested, a separation between eastern and western parts of the Roman Empire had occurred when Charlemagne took control of its western portion.⁷⁰ In either case the eastern part of the Roman Empire continued to exist under its own emperor.⁷¹ A similar idea appears in Geoffroi de Collon's universal chronicle, where the author noted that emperors continued to reign in Constantinople but they did not rule over the Romans. As a consequence, the monk of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif makes clear that he will restrict his account to Charlemagne, *imperator Romanorum et rex Francorum*, and his successors in the (western) Empire and the (French) kingdom.⁷² It is worth noting, however, that French conceptions of the association between the contemporary western Empire and the Roman Empire extended beyond the view that one had succeeded to part of the territory of the other. The western Empire, even though its ruler was not perceived to exercise a temporal jurisdiction equivalent in extent to that exercised by the emperors of Antiquity, was not considered to be a successor so much as the continuation of the Roman Empire. The importance of the 'Roman' quality of the western Empire and the nature of the relationship between the imperial office and German kingship are clearest in French conceptions of the procedure by which an imperial ruler was constituted.

The installation of a ruler in the western Empire was regarded in France as a process which took place in three distinct stages, each of which culminated in a coronation ceremony. A portrait of this threefold process was outlined in full in several accounts which dealt with the *Romzüge* of Henry VII and Ludwig of Bavaria and in part by numerous other works. There was a remarkable level of agreement regarding the central elements of the process. While the metrical

⁶⁹ This process is analyzed by Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 502–06.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 531–35.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 526, 533.

⁷² After having noted Charles le Chauve in the emperor-list at the beginning of his chronicle, Geoffroi gave a short list of contemporary Greek emperors and followed it with the comment: 'Hii quinque regnauerunt non imperauerunt', *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 22. In the text of the chronicle itself we find the comment: 'Post imperauit Constantinopolim Melchiades, et multii alii, qui super Romanos non regnabant. [. . .] De ipso et suis successoribus non est presens cronica; sed de cetero de Karolomagno, imperatore Romanorum et rege Francorum, et suis successoribus in imperio et in regno, ueritatem plenariam enarrabis', *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 260. That Geoffroi places Charlemagne's imperial title before his royal one highlights, perhaps, the lack of Dionysian influence on his chronicle.

chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris⁷³ and a note added to a manuscript of the *Memoriale historiarum*⁷⁴ mistakenly referred to a silver crown and Guillaume de Nangis's third continuator noted the use of a specific diadem,⁷⁵ few references were made to any *regalia* associated with the first of these ceremonies. Equally limited were references to the ceremony's procedures. Guillaume de Nangis's third continuator was, for example, unusual in noting that Ludwig of Bavaria was crowned while seated on the throne of Charlemagne.⁷⁶ At the same time the first ceremony possessed a fundamental feature: it should take place in the city of Aachen.

Aachen was a recurring feature of French accounts of the first coronation ceremony and one which reflected contemporary German practice. The city was specified as the site for the ceremony whether an account was produced in the early years of the thirteenth century, such as that of the anonymous of Béthune,⁷⁷ in the mid-century, such as those of Philippe Mousket,⁷⁸ the minstrel of Reims⁷⁹ and Primat's *Roman des rois*,⁸⁰ or in the mid-fourteenth century, such as the 1340s Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques*.⁸¹ So important was this location that Philippe Mousket could refer to the German ruler as the *rois d'Ais*.⁸² Writing at the end of Philippe Auguste's reign, an anonymous chronicler gave a detailed account of Frederick II's displacement of Otto IV from Aachen and *l'enfant de Puille's* later coronation in the city.⁸³ Guillaume de Nangis noted that while Frederick was originally crowned at Mainz he was later re-crowned at Aachen,⁸⁴ where, according to Guillaume's third continuator, it

⁷³ *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, lines 3759, p. 163; line 3763, p. 163.

⁷⁴ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 655, n. 9.

⁷⁵ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 6.

⁷⁶ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 6.

⁷⁷ *Extrait d'une chronique française des rois de France, par un anonyme de Béthune*, p. 759.

⁷⁸ *Historia Regum Francorum*, line 23317, p. 767.

⁷⁹ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxii, p. 113.

⁸⁰ *Grandes Chroniques*, VI, 242.

⁸¹ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 267.

⁸² *Fragment chronique rimée*, line 30955, p. 77.

⁸³ 'Fragment de l'Histoire de Philippe-Auguste roy de France', pp. 123–24.

⁸⁴ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 138, 149–50.

was customary for German kings to be crowned.⁸⁵ That Richard of Cornwall had secured coronation at Aachen was thought worthy of note and was probably an important factor in confirming the northern French decision to favour his candidature in preference to that of Alfonso X.⁸⁶ An exception amongst northern French accounts was the metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris, whose author suggested that Henry VII was crowned at Cologne.⁸⁷ Aubri de Trois-Fontaines made some attempt to explain the significance of Aachen in the 1240s. According to Aubri, the Aachen coronation was an expression of reverence for Charlemagne: it became a *consuetudo quasi lex* inviolably observed that prior to Roman coronation a king was crowned at Aachen: '[. . .] et hoc fit propter reverentiam et maiestatem Karoli Magni, cuius corpus requiescit ibidem'.⁸⁸

A belief that a coronation ceremony, if it was to be legitimate, should take place in a specific location probably reflected, to some extent, the strong association of the French coronation ceremony with one particular city, Reims. Rémoise locations played an integral part in thirteenth-century conceptions of the French coronation.⁸⁹ A further aspect of French practice may explain the lack of interest taken by French writers in the claims of the archbishops of Cologne to a traditional right to crown the German king, claims which, in conjunction with their rights as imperial electors, the archbishops themselves were keen to capitalize upon.⁹⁰ Although the crowning of French kings was normally the prerogative of the archbishop of Reims, the rite was considered to be perfectly valid if performed by someone else. Louis IX's coronation by the Bishop of Soissons, for example, was well known.⁹¹ This would explain why the

⁸⁵ 'ubi soliti sunt reges Alemanniae coronari', Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 6–7.

⁸⁶ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 214; *Ex notis Lemovicensibus*, p. 437.

⁸⁷ *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, line 3763, p. 163. Henry was, in reality, crowned at Aachen by the Archbishop of Cologne (6 January 1309).

⁸⁸ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 903.

⁸⁹ Palazzo, 'La liturgie du sacré', pp. 79–85; J. Le Goff, 'Reims, ville du sacré', in *Les lieux de mémoire, II: La Nation*, ed. by P. Nora, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), I, 89–184.

⁹⁰ Adolf von Atena (d. 1220), Archbishop of Cologne, led the opposition to the Emperor Henry VI's plans to transform the Hohenstaufen into an hereditary dynasty: Huffman, p. 161. If successful, such a move would have led naturally to a denigration in the influence Adolf and his successors exercised in the selection and confirmation of the German ruler.

⁹¹ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 176. Richard, *Louis*, p. 37.

minstrel of Reims did not seem particularly perturbed when he gave an account of a ceremony in which the Archbishop of Trier was given responsibility for crowning Frederick II.⁹²

The completion of this first ceremony created, from a northern French perspective, a legitimate *rex Alemanniae*. It was not necessary that this ruler should undergo any further ceremony for him to be recognized as a legitimate king who possessed the authority, for example, to contract alliances, such as those arranged in 1299 at Quatrevaux. The Aachen coronation possessed a second significance. It was, as Aubri de Trois-Fontaines explained, a necessary preliminary step in seeking Roman coronation.⁹³ Henry (VII) was crowned at Aachen, as Philippe Mousket noted, *pour après lui [Frederick] tenir l'empere*.⁹⁴ Coronation at Aachen, therefore, was considered to bestow both the German kingship and a claim upon the Empire. It is possible that the belief that the Aachen ceremony comprised two distinctive elements accounts for the frequent tendency amongst French writers to separate the titles *rex Alemanniae* and *rex Romanorum*.

If the Aachen coronation was the first and essential step on the road to acquisition of the imperial title, the *Romzug* of Henry VII brought an intermediary step to the forefront of French thought: coronation in northern Italy. This second coronation captured the interest of Henry's contemporaries such as the author of the metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris,⁹⁵ Jean de Saint-Victor,⁹⁶ and Guillaume de Nangis's second continuator.⁹⁷ The ceremony was also noted by Bernard Gui⁹⁸ and later Dionysians,⁹⁹ whose interest was probably fortified by Ludwig of Bavaria's Italian odyssey.¹⁰⁰ Again, this ceremony was associated with a specific city, in this case Milan. It differed from the Aachen ceremony in that it involved a very specific element of *regalia*,

⁹² *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxii, p. 113.

⁹³ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 903.

⁹⁴ *Historia Regum Francorum*, line 23318, p. 767.

⁹⁵ *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, lines 3808–11, p. 163.

⁹⁶ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 655.

⁹⁷ Second Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 381.

⁹⁸ *Flores chronicorum*, p. 720.

⁹⁹ *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 35; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 267–68.

¹⁰⁰ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 82; *Chronique de Richard Lescot*, p. 1; *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 75.

the iron crown.¹⁰¹ The 1340s Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques*, although it suggested that the inhabitants of Milan *l'appellerent Auguste*, noted that it was as a consequence of this coronation that Henry VII became *roy de Lombardie*.¹⁰² In contrast, the majority of French writers gave no indication of a new title or authority to which the candidate acceded to or, in Ludwig's case, claimed to accede to. One account that appears to have differed from the interpretation offered by the later *Grandes Chroniques* was that of Jean de Saint-Victor. Jean implied that it was from his coronation at Milan that Henry could lay claim to the imperial title: 'Hoc anno [. . .] fuit Henricus rex Alamanniae, et jam imperator vocatus, Mediolani, prout imperatorum moris est, coronatus'.¹⁰³ For Jean, Henry was already Emperor when he arrived in Rome and received a third crown: 'Eodem anno, venit imperator Romam, corona aurea coronandus'.¹⁰⁴ Jean's opinion appears to have been shared by the third continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, who noted that at Milan Ludwig *in imperatorem corona ferrea coronatur*.¹⁰⁵

The *Memoriale historiarum* and Guillaume's continuator were unusual and the majority of writers, none of whom accredited Ludwig with an imperial title, chose not to apply such a title to Henry until his Roman coronation. The application of the imperial title to rulers of the lands of the western Empire was, with certain exceptions, such as Guillaume de Nangis's qualification of Philip of Swabia as *imperatorem Alemanniae*,¹⁰⁶ generally restricted to those who underwent this third coronation ceremony in Rome. Guillaume's usage probably echoes Rigord, who mistakenly labelled Philip 'Emperor' on one occasion.¹⁰⁷ That Rigord's usage was generally considered erroneous is suggested

¹⁰¹ *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, line 3767, p. 163; Second Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 381; *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 655, n. 9; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 35; *Flores chronicorum*, p. 720; Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 82; *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 75.

¹⁰² *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 268.

¹⁰³ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 655.

¹⁰⁴ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 655.

¹⁰⁵ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 82.

¹⁰⁶ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 114, 125, 129.

¹⁰⁷ Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, chap. 159, p. 400 ('Philippum Romanum imperatorem'). Rigord mentions Philip on three other occasions but does not employ the imperial title on any of them: *ibid.*, chap. 128, p. 346 (simply described as the brother of Henry VI), chap. 134, p. 356 ('dux Suevie [...] regi Alemannie ducique Suevie'), chap. 146, p. 376 ('regem Germanie').

by Primat's decision to 'correct' the 'emperor' under discussion to 'Henry' (presumably Henry VI) when translating this particular passage from Rigord in his *Roman des rois*.¹⁰⁸ The continuation of the annals of Rouen did indeed note the death of the 'Emperor' Rudolf of Habsburg, but as the title was not applied to either Adolf or Albrecht, this usage probably arose as a result of a misunderstanding.¹⁰⁹

Although no French author gave any clear indication of what precisely was conferred, beyond the imperial title itself, the Roman ceremony was frequently noted in the cases of Ludwig of Bavaria¹¹⁰ and Henry VII. Jean de Saint-Victor¹¹¹ and the metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris,¹¹² as had been the case in their descriptions of the German ceremony, mistakenly believed that the Roman coronation involved a specific item of *regalia*, a crown made from a particular metal, in this case gold. Most French accounts referred to the crown without any specific description or termed it *imperiali diademate*¹¹³ or *dyademe imperial*,¹¹⁴ a description which, in a northern French context, as discussed in chapter four, almost certainly implied the use of a closed crown. An assumption that the ceremony would normally be conducted by the pope probably explains the continuator of the annals of Rouen's belief that

¹⁰⁸ *Grandes Chroniques*, vi, 282 ('l'empereor Henri'). Primat mentions Philip on three other occasions and does not employ the imperial title on any of them: *Grandes Chroniques*, vi, 178 ('le duc de Souave'), 242 (simply described as the brother of Henry VI), 265 ('le roi d'Alemagne').

¹⁰⁹ *E Chronici Rotomagensis continuatione*, p. 346.

¹¹⁰ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 86–87; *Chronique de Richard Lescot*, p. 1; *Ex Annalium Rotomagensium continuationibus*, p. 505; *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 75.

¹¹¹ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 655.

¹¹²
 A Couloingne [sic] ot il la prumiere,
 Ou feste ot de bele maniere
 De toute maniere de gent:
 Ceste couronne fu d'argent.
 Cele de fer en Lombardie,
 Dedens Millan, li fu baillie:
 Cele de fer com a preudomme.
 Et cele d'or ot il a Romme,

Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris, lines 3763–70, p. 163.

¹¹³ Second Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 393.

¹¹⁴ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 286.

Ludwig of Bavaria created an antipope specifically in order to have himself crowned.¹¹⁵ Although the idea that imperial authority could only be conferred through such a papal coronation may actually have informed Ludwig's own reasoning,¹¹⁶ papal involvement was not considered indispensable in France and the fact that Clement V had despatched three cardinals to perform Henry's coronation while frequently noted, particularly by the Dionysians,¹¹⁷ was almost certainly not considered to have altered the legitimacy of the ceremony.

A tendency amongst French writers to separate the German and Roman elements of western imperial rule suggests that the imperial title was not considered to be necessary to legitimize a candidate's possession of the German kingship. Is it, then, the case that a further coronation was considered necessary if the German king were to exercise legitimate jurisdiction beyond the German kingdom? Ernst Kantorowicz suggested that it was during the period after the end of Hohenstaufen rule that the idea first developed in Burgundy and Italy that an emperor-elect, a *rex Romanorum*, lacked authority beyond Germany before his Roman coronation.¹¹⁸ That he lacked authority in Italy before at least coronation in Milan certainly appears to have been the position adopted by the 1340s Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques* and this may also explain Jean de Saint-Victor and Guillaume de Nangis's third continuator's view that it was at this point that the German king became an emperor. These French accounts do not appear to have been greatly marked by the arguments of certain Neapolitan jurists in the fourteenth century that suggested that the pre- and post-Roman-coronation ruler exercised the same rights, a principle outlined by the German princes themselves in 1338.¹¹⁹ An assumption that a second coronation

¹¹⁵ 'Ludovicus de Bavaria veniens Romam, insano ductus consilio, creavit antipapam fratrem Petrum de Corbario ordinis fratrum Minorum, et ab eodem antipapa sic creato fecit se imperatorem coronari.', Continuation of the annals of Rouen for 1282-1343, *Ex Annalium Rotomagensium continuationibus*, p. 505.

¹¹⁶ Wilks, p. 246.

¹¹⁷ Second Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 393; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 39; *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 286. Also: *E Breviario historiarum Landulphi de Columna*, p. 198.

¹¹⁸ E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, new edn with a preface by W. C. Jordan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 324.

¹¹⁹ For an outline of the views developed by the Neapolitan jurists and the German princes: Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, pp. 325-28. There is often a tendency to assume that ideas developed in Naples in the course of the Angevin conflict with Henry VII automatically found their way into contemporary northern French discourse. This is

bestowed a form of extra-regnal authority, would not, however, account for the necessity of a third ceremony. Nor, more fundamentally, would it account for the distinctively Roman character that this was considered to confer upon the western Empire. Further light is shed on this problem by examining the sources from which the German king-emperor was considered to derive his authority.

The system by which the ruler of the western Empire was selected involved election by the German magnates. In the course of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century, it became established that electoral authority was vested in a college consisting of seven of these magnates, three ecclesiastical and four lay.¹²⁰ There is little doubt that the inhabitants of France accepted the principle that the German ruler was established by the German magnates through an elective mechanism. Although echoed by Primat¹²¹ and Guillaume de Nangis,¹²² Guillaume le Breton's suggestion that the Romans played a part in the electoral process¹²³ does not appear to have been particularly influential. At least one writer to make use of Guillaume's *Gesta Philippi Augusti* simply removed the reference to the participation of the Romans and spoke only of

not necessarily the case. Over half a century ago Walter Ullmann noted that it is not possible to demonstrate the influence of French jurists on their Neapolitan colleagues or vice versa: 'Development of the Medieval Idea of Sovereignty', p. 18. Given the poor relations between Philippe VI and Robert d'Anjou, we might even go so far as to question Ullmann's judgement that, in spite of the absence of any clear juristic exchange, 'the one fact that can be safely asserted is that there was a close intercourse between Naples and France, owing to the rule of the house of Anjou'.

¹²⁰ Concerning the formation of the college: Bayley. See also A. Wolf, *Die Entstehung des Kurfürstenkollegs 1198-1298: zur 700-jährigen Wiederkehr der ersten Vereinigung der sieben Kurfürsten*, Historisches Seminar, neue Folge, 11 (Idstein: Schulz-Kirchner, 1998); F.-R. Erkens, *Kurfürsten und Königswahl: zu neuen Theorien über den Königswahlparagraphen im Sachsenspiegel und die Entstehung des Kurfürstenkollegiums*, MGH Studien und Texte, 30 (Hannover: Hahn, 2002); T. Ertl, 'Alte Thesen und neue Theorien zur Entstehung des Kurfürstenkollegiums', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 30 (2003), 619–43.

¹²¹ *Grandes Chroniques*, vi, 294.

¹²² Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, i, 132.

¹²³ 'Innocentius papa III, contra voluntatem Philippi regis Francorum, et contradicentibus pro maxima parte Romanis, imo et multis de magnatibus imperii non assentientibus, coronavit Rome imperatorem Othonem', Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, p. 236.

Otto IV's election as being against the will of the French king and without the assent of the magnates of the Empire.¹²⁴

To some extent the development of French thought appears to reflect the gradual evolution of the electoral body. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines and Guillaume de Nangis, for example, spoke only of the selection of a candidate by the *barones Alemannie*, in the case of Frederick II,¹²⁵ and the *electores*, in the case of Richard and Alfonso.¹²⁶ By the early-fourteenth century this rather vague usage had crystallized into an electoral college. For Jean de Saint-Victor this body, conceived in terms of supposed French practice as was discussed in chapter five, was composed of twelve German peers. Jean's contemporary Pierre Dubois, in contrast, believed, in 1308, that the college was composed of *tres archiepiscopos et quatuor duces seu comites*.¹²⁷ The idea that the electoral college comprised seven electors also appears in Geoffroi de Collon's universal chronicle, who, probably following Martin of Troppau, suggested the institution had been founded at the time of the Emperor Otto III (d. 1002).¹²⁸ Later in the fourteenth century Guillaume de Nangis's third continuator¹²⁹ and the Dionysian continuator of Géraud de Frachet¹³⁰ outlined a similar structure

¹²⁴ 'Otto in imperatorem coronatur a papa contra voluntatem regis Francorum Philippi — magnatibus imperii non assentientibus', *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 890.

¹²⁵ *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 893; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 138.

¹²⁶ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 214.

¹²⁷ *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, p. 209.

¹²⁸ 'De functo Octone [III], septem nominati fuerunt qui de cetero eligere debent imperatorem', *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 384. Martin's account contains a good deal more detail, including the names of the individual electors, which the monk of Sens does not seem to have felt inclined to include: 'Et licet isti tres Ottones per successionem generis regnaverint, post tamen institutum fuit, ut per officiales imperii imperator eligeretur. Qui sunt 7, videlicet 3 cancellarii, scilicet Maguntinus cancellarius Germanie, Treverensis Gallie et Coloniensis Ytalie; marchio Brandenburgensis camerarius, Palatinus dapifer, dux Saxonie ensem portans, pincerna rex Boemie', *Martini oppaviensis chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*, p. 466. The exclusion of this material was either by conscience decision or indicates that Geoffroi had before him an abbreviated version of Martin's chronicle. A third, very possible alternative, is, of course, that the chronicler of Sens, despite his claims to the contrary, did not have Martin's work before him at all but rather someone else's summary of Martin's chronicle.

¹²⁹ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 6.

¹³⁰ *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 49.

to that given by Pierre Dubois involving three archbishops, correctly labelled as those of Cologne, Trier, and Mainz, and three dukes. Although this level of detail appears to have escaped the Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques*, these accounts suggest that there was an awareness of the general composition of the contemporary electoral college in the Île-de-France if not elsewhere.

If Charles d'Anjou referred only to Philippe III's need to gain the support of *un poi d'Alemans* in his attempt to encourage his nephew to pursue his 1273 imperial candidature,¹³¹ it is clear that, at least by the reign of Philippe IV, the French court was aware that the electoral process involved specific magnates, amongst whom were the archbishop of Cologne¹³² and the king of Bohemia.¹³³ Although the court was clearly aware of the latter's involvement in the electoral process, it is notable, given the interest in John of Bohemia, that this was apparently unknown to French writers more generally. This lacuna highlights the rather vague terms with which the lay electors were labelled by Dubois and the Dionysians, a sharp contrast to the precision that was applied to their ecclesiastical counterparts, something that suggests a degree of uncertainty concerning the identities of the lay participants prevailed. While the German magnates clearly played an important role in the establishment of any ruler of the western Empire, in an apparent paradox, they were simultaneously considered to be dispensable.

The German electoral college derived its authority from the papacy. This was either, as the compilers of the Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques*¹³⁴ and those of Pierre Honoré's version¹³⁵ suggested, because Constantine's donation of the Empire to the Pope had been followed by the institution of the German electors whose purpose was to select a candidate to present to the papacy for approval, or, as Pierre Dubois argued, because the Pope had founded the electoral college

¹³¹ MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 618, para. 6, p. 588, argument XIII. Charles may have had a more specific conception of the electoral college: it is possible he sought to bribe the archbishop of Trier: Langlois, *Philippe III*, p. 68.

¹³² MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 247, pp. 211–12 (July 1308, Poitiers). This letter, from Raymund, cardinal-deacon of Sancte Marie Nove, to the Archbishop of Cologne concerning the 1308 election, is included in a French royal register, now BnF, MS lat. 10919.

¹³³ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 239, pp. 203–04 (20 May 1308, Poitiers); no. 240, pp. 204–05 (9 June 1308, Poitiers).

¹³⁴ *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 37.

¹³⁵ *Grandes Chroniques* (BnF, MS fr. 10132 version), in *RHGF*, XXI, 684.

at the time he had transferred the Empire to Charlemagne.¹³⁶ The source for the idea promoted by various traditions of the *Grandes Chroniques* remains unclear. Dubois's view, remarkably similar to that outlined by Boniface VIII in 1303 when he confirmed Albrecht as king of the Romans,¹³⁷ was based upon the interpretation of Innocent III's bull *Venerabilem* in light of contemporary circumstances.¹³⁸ In either case the pope possessed an authority which allowed him, as Charles d'Anjou implied in the 1270s, simply to override the wishes of the Germans in the selection of an imperial candidate,¹³⁹ or, as Dubois suggested, to suspend the rights of the electors altogether.¹⁴⁰

Papal approval was the key to a successful candidature and the necessity of such approval was stressed throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, whether the writer was Philippe Mousket, considering the appointment of Henry (VII),¹⁴¹ the minstrel of Reims discussing Frederick II,¹⁴² Primat,¹⁴³ Pierre Dubois airing the possibility of Philippe IV's candidature,¹⁴⁴ or the Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques*, in the case of Henry VII.¹⁴⁵ The idea appears — with no explanation — in Geoffroi de Collon's account of post-Carolingian rulers of the Empire.¹⁴⁶ As the Dionysians put it when discussing John XXII's

¹³⁶ *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, p. 209. Geoffroi de Collon, in contrast, does not make clear the source of the electors's authority.

¹³⁷ Paravicini Bagliani, *Boniface*, p. 341.

¹³⁸ Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', p. 81.

¹³⁹ MGH *Constitutiones* 3, no. 618, para. 6, p. 588, argument XIII.

¹⁴⁰ *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, p. 209.

¹⁴¹ *Historia Regum Francorum*, line 23313, p. 766; see also line 23324, p. 767.

¹⁴² *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxii, p. 113.

¹⁴³ *Grandes Chroniques*, vi, 297.

¹⁴⁴ *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, pp. 208–09.

¹⁴⁵ *Grandes Chroniques*, viii, 266.

¹⁴⁶ It is worth noting that the Pope does not feature in Geoffroi's account of the initial transfer of the Empire to Charlemagne. The chronicler believed that it had been the Roman people — dissatisfied with being ruled by a woman, the Empress Irene — who had transferred the Empire: *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 260. Although involved in the coronation of Charlemagne and his son (the latter 'in regem Francorum et imperatorem Romanorum, consensu omnium, consecrauit,' *ibid.*, p. 276) the Pope first appears to exercise some authority over the imperial office when he is portrayed co-operating with the Roman people in the temporary removal of Louis le Pieux from his position as emperor: *ibid.*, p. 286. The idea of a need for papal benediction in the creation of a valid emperor first appears explicitly in relation to

reasons for refusing to acknowledge Ludwig of Bavaria's candidature: 'le pape le doit confermer et li enjoindre l'office et l'administracion de l'Empire'.¹⁴⁷ *Et non autrement*, added the continuators of Pierre Honoré's text.¹⁴⁸ It was, as the metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris put it, the pope who *fist et crea empereur*.¹⁴⁹ Even Ludwig of Bavaria, according to the Dionysians, was shocked by and unwilling to accept the heretical suggestion that the Empire was not dependant upon the papacy.¹⁵⁰

Several writers, both lay and ecclesiastical, were explicit that the pope played a role not simply in creating the emperor but in the initial constitution of the German king. The minstrel of Reims, for example, noted that Frederick II *fu esleuz des barons d'Alemaingne à roi d'Alemaingne par la grace la [sic] pape*.¹⁵¹ The chronicler of Sainte-Catherine-de-Monte noted the death of Heinrich Raspe *qui a papa Innocentio fuerat electus in regem Alemanniae*.¹⁵² Some manuscripts of Jean de Saint-Victor's *Memoriale* even included the erroneous assertion that Henry VII had received initial consecration by the Pope at Poitiers.¹⁵³ Yet, for all the emphasis placed upon the necessity of papal consent, the role of the electors continued to be perceived to be an important one.

Philippe Mousket felt it worthy of note that Henry (VII) *fu couronnés sans contredire*.¹⁵⁴ According to Jean de Saint-Victor, Heinrich Raspe failed to become properly established as ruler of the Empire at least in part because he was not elected following the proper custom: despite papal approval and his election by the three ecclesiastical electors, Heinrich was not elected by *omnibus illis ad quos electio de consuetudine pertinebat*.¹⁵⁵ Following contemporary

Conrad I (d. 918), *ibid.*, p. 322. See also *ibid.*, p. 324, for Berengar II and Henry, *rex Alemannie*; *ibid.*, p. 338 for Berengar III, labelled: 'Romanorum imperator absque benedictione'.

¹⁴⁷ *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 37–40. Also: *Fragment d'une chronique anonyme, finissant en M.CCC.XXVIII*, p. 155.

¹⁴⁸ *Grandes Chroniques* (BnF, MS fr. 10132 version), in *RHGF*, XXI, 684.

¹⁴⁹ *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, line 3685, p. 161.

¹⁵⁰ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 74–76; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 68; *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 58–60.

¹⁵¹ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, chap. xxii, p. 113.

¹⁵² *E Chronico sanctae Catharinae de Monte Rotomagi*, p. 400.

¹⁵³ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 654, n. 2.

¹⁵⁴ *Historia Regum Francorum*, line 23316, p. 766.

¹⁵⁵ Cited from Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 632, n. 237.

imperial practice, which came to be enshrined in the Golden Bull of 1356, a majority of electoral votes was considered sufficient endorsement for a candidate.¹⁵⁶ That he could claim to have obtained a majority of the votes was noted in the case of Ludwig of Bavaria¹⁵⁷ and, in conjunction with other factors, probably confirmed a tendency to favour his candidature in preference to that of Friedrich der Schöne. Although one Limousin author implied, when relating the case of Richard of Cornwall, that the assent of the majority of the electors was less important than coronation at Aachen,¹⁵⁸ as Jean de Saint-Victor made clear, when discussing Heinrich Raspe's failed accession, the participation of the electors was considered important if the necessary rites were to be observed correctly.¹⁵⁹ It is possible that the importance attached to the role of the electors stemmed from fundamental assumptions about the nature of German kingship.

It seems probable that the German magnates occupied a double role in French thought. They were, as Primat put it, quite literally, *li baron d'Alemagne et de l'empire*.¹⁶⁰ On one level their role was considered to involve the selection of a German king, just as the French peers would in certain cases select a French king. On a second level the German electors had been constituted by the papacy to choose a candidate for a distinct office. This latter, for the present at least, was held in conjunction with the German kingship but was not equivalent to it. With papal approval, the German king selected by the electors obtained the kingship of the Romans, which bestowed a right to receive the imperial crown in Rome at the convenience of the papacy. In the post-Staufer era, when German kings consistently failed to accede to the Roman emperorship, it was not the case that the latter was rendered an irrelevancy in northern France. Almost certainly stimulated by the fact that the German kingship and the Roman emperorship ceased automatically to be conflated after the mid-thirteenth century, the notion of a distinct Roman office, intimately connected with the papacy, appears instead to have crystallized in French thought.

¹⁵⁶ MGH Constitutiones, II, ed. by W. D. Fritz (Weimar: Böhlau, 1978–92), p. 576. The idea was first formalized at the Diet of Rhens in 1338. For a brief overview of the circumstances leading up to the Golden Bull: Canning, 'Introduction: Politics, Institutions and Ideas', pp. 344–45.

¹⁵⁷ Third Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, II, 6; *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 49.

¹⁵⁸ *Ex notis Lemovicensibus*, p. 437.

¹⁵⁹ Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 632, n. 237.

¹⁶⁰ *Grandes Chroniques*, VI, 297.

The Roman Emperor and the Empire of Christianity

Recounting the ecclesiastical councils assembled in 1291 and 1292 to discuss what was to be done to recover the Holy Land,¹⁶¹ Guillaume de Nangis concluded with a comment concerning the preaching of the Cross *in toto Christianitatis imperio*.¹⁶² Four decades later his successors in the scriptorium of Saint-Denis rendered his remark as a reference to *l'empire de crestienté*.¹⁶³ These comments are evidence of the continuing assumption in the French cultural milieu that Christian society could be considered in terms of a universal institution. What is less clear is whether this universal institution was characterized by anything other than a spiritual quality. If it was also envisioned as a unity on a temporal level, this raises questions concerning its relationship with the western empire and the papally-approved Roman emperor. The early-fourteenth-century lawyer Pierre Dubois provides one perspective on both these issues.

For Dubois, a universal institution encompassing all Christians, or at least all Christians obedient to the Roman Church, the *respublica christicolarum*,¹⁶⁴ retained a Roman character and could be described as *respublica romanorum*.¹⁶⁵ This was not simply a question of the unity of Christian society in spiritual terms but also, to some extent, on a temporal level.¹⁶⁶ Dubois did not envision the western emperor exercising a universal jurisdiction within this Roman commonwealth. At the same time, while he chose to invest it in the papacy, he did believe in the existence of a supreme temporal authority, both for the reform of secular law¹⁶⁷ and in the arbitration of disputes between rulers.¹⁶⁸ It seems unlikely that Dubois was alone in conceiving of this Christian empire as characterized by a Roman quality or in believing it to be more than simply a spiritual union.

¹⁶¹ For these councils: Schein, *Fideles crucis*, pp. 135–38.

¹⁶² Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 279.

¹⁶³ *Grandes Chroniques*, VIII, 145. Cf. *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 10.

¹⁶⁴ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 99, p. 81.

¹⁶⁵ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 96, p. 77.

¹⁶⁶ Dubois's usage is discussed in greater depth in: Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', p. 84, n. 131, n. 133. Cf. Rivière, p. 348.

¹⁶⁷ Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', pp. 84–85.

¹⁶⁸ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 12, p. 12. Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', pp. 82–83.

Dubois was a lawyer and his view that some form of universal temporal authority was a necessity if the world was to be organized properly was an axiom which undoubtedly originated in the fact that the *Corpus iuris civilis* remained the benchmark of his thought. For other inhabitants of northern France the continued existence of the Roman Empire, even if it was not automatically considered to be universal, was necessitated by eschatological considerations. In the universal histories of Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, Vincent de Beauvais, and Guillaume de Nangis,¹⁶⁹ the Roman Empire continued to occupy the central role assigned to it by Sigebert de Gembloux. It was the final empire of the book of Daniel and its continued existence, even when vacant, held in check the coming of the Antichrist and the end of the world. A similar conception may have informed the thought of Bernard Gui, who implied that the history of the Roman Empire continued in his own day.¹⁷⁰ The essence of this view may well have permeated beyond the erudite Latin circles of the compilers of universal history.

In the book of Daniel gold, silver, and iron had been three of the materials which made up the statue in King Nebuchadnezzar's dream: gold forming the head, silver the chest and arms, and iron the legs.¹⁷¹ The statue was a common landmark on the mental landscape of the medieval west, and prominent examples of its employment in the early-fourteenth century include the works of Dante¹⁷² and Marsilius of Padua.¹⁷³ The decision by the author of the metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris to complement the iron crown of Lombardy with two additional crowns of silver, for Germany, and gold, for Rome, may well have been intended to echo this imagery and quite possibly sprang from the assumption that the Roman Empire to which Henry VII

¹⁶⁹ For eschatological themes in each of these, respectively: Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 672–73, 687, 691.

¹⁷⁰ 'Nunc vero praesens opusculum de Romanis pontificibus qui vos [John XXII] in Sede apostolica praecesserunt, ac de imperatoribus Romanis et regibus Francorum, a Domino Jesu Christo usque ad apostolatam vestrum' (7 August 1320, Avignon), *Littera fratris Bernardi Guidonis, ordinis Praedicatorum, ad papam*, in *RHGF*, xxi, 691. See also the prologue to the *Flores chronicorum*, p. 693.

¹⁷¹ Daniel 2. 31–35.

¹⁷² *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, ed. and trans. by J. D. Sinclair, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 1: *Inferno*, canto xiv, lines 103–11, pp. 184–86.

¹⁷³ *Marsilius von Padua Defensor pacis*, ed. by R. Scholz, *MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum*, 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1932–33), D. II. 24. 17, p. 464.

succeeded was the final empire of the prophecy.¹⁷⁴ Despite the fact that he had effectively reduced the Roman Empire to the status of any other kingdom in his *Tractatus*, Jean de Saint-Victor's decision to describe the Roman crown as one of gold in his *Memoriale* may have echoed a similar eschatological interpretation.¹⁷⁵ Whether or not this was true in Jean's case, the interpolation into a manuscript of the *Memoriale* of a description of Henry VII's three crowns in terms similar to those employed by the author of the metrical chronicle,¹⁷⁶ a text which Jean himself may have used,¹⁷⁷ suggests that the association may have been widely held.

Pierre Dubois could conceive of a supra-regnal Roman Christian commonwealth which required a universal temporal authority but in which aspects of this authority were vested not in the emperor but in the pope. Yet for Dubois the emperor was not by any means an irrelevance. He exercised temporal jurisdiction within the sphere of the limited territorial Empire, a jurisdiction similar to that exercised by any other secular ruler within his kingdom and which the pope was obliged to respect.¹⁷⁸ In the mid-thirteenth century Philippe Mousket had shared the view that the western emperor fulfilled the function of a limited temporal ruler but differed from Dubois in suggesting that the authority he exercised was an effective stewardship on behalf of the papacy. Constantine had donated *l'empire de Roume et tot l'iestre* to Pope Sylvester.¹⁷⁹ In common with Vincent de Beauvais,¹⁸⁰ Philippe believed it was impractical that the Pope should govern this himself and so he had constituted an emperor, effectively a papal vassal (*ses om liges*), to exercise jurisdiction in his place.¹⁸¹ Philippe gave little indication of what this region of imperial

¹⁷⁴ For example: *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, lines 3759–60, p. 163.

¹⁷⁵ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 655.

¹⁷⁶ *Memoriale historiarum*, p. 655, n. 9.

¹⁷⁷ Samaran, 'Jean de Saint-Victor', p. 7; *Traité de la division des royaumes*, ed. and trans. by Guyot-Bachy and Poirel, p. 17.

¹⁷⁸ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 118, p. 111. Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', p. 82.

¹⁷⁹ *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 30903–06, p. 77.

¹⁸⁰ Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 506, 526.

¹⁸¹

Or ne puet avenir ne iestre
Que l'apostoles cevauçast
Partout le païs ne alast;
Empereor fist d'un haut ome

jurisdiction constituted, although his description of the kingdom and Empire as 'brothers'¹⁸² suggests that in the present day he did not consider it to include France.

While it is possible that there continued to be a belief in northern France that an aspect of the emperor's authority consisted in the exercise of temporal jurisdiction on behalf of the pope, an increasingly limited understanding of the *Donation of Constantine* certainly deprived this of any universal aspect and may even have limited it to northern Italy or even simply the city of Rome. At the same time, it seems likely that a number of quite different temporal functions, which its incumbent performed both within and beyond the limited territorial Empire, distinguished the imperial office from that of other kings.

According to the author of the metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris, Henry VII: '[...] maintenir sa guerre / Que pais en puist venir en terre'.¹⁸³ It seems probable that some in France regarded the ability to establish peace, or at least peace within the Empire (conceived as a territorially limited institution), as one of the essential tasks of an imperial ruler. This attitude was not exclusive to northern France: the ability to establish peace within the Empire had been highlighted as one of the necessary qualities of any potential imperial candidate by Bruno, Bishop of Olmütz, in advice offered to the 1274 council of Lyon.¹⁸⁴ The establishment of peace as an imperial duty was a theme highlighted by Henry VII in his coronation encyclical.¹⁸⁵ For Jean de Saint-Victor, the Roman Empire, by establishing universal peace at the time of Christ and subsequently enabling the transmission of the Christian message, had acted as an instrument of divine providence.¹⁸⁶ That Jean did not consider Henry VII to be an emperor in the same sense as those who had reigned between Caesar and Frederick II was indicated by the fact that, unlike his predecessors, Henry's name did not appear

Et tout quanqu'il avoit à Roume;
Mais ses om liges en estoit
Et quant son sacre pris avoit.
Tout ensi douna-on l'Empire,
Dont l'apostolités empire.

Fragment chronique rimée, lines 30930–38, p. 77.

¹⁸² *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 30981–84, p. 78.

¹⁸³ *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, lines 3705–06, p. 162.

¹⁸⁴ MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 621, pp. 594–95 (12 July 1274, Prague).

¹⁸⁵ MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 801, p. 802 (29 June 1312, Rome).

¹⁸⁶ Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 694.

in the upper margin of manuscripts of the *Memoriale historiarum* qualified as 'Roman emperor'.¹⁸⁷ The reason for this exclusion, as Mireille Chazan suggested,¹⁸⁸ almost certainly lay in Henry's failure to reign in peace, a point which Jean also highlighted as one of the reasons for Heinrich Raspe's failure to become properly established as an imperial ruler.¹⁸⁹

The idea that the emperor existed to establish peace in the world was entrenched in the thought of Siegebert de Gembloux¹⁹⁰ and was a theme which echoed in Aubri de Trois-Fontaines' universal chronicle in the 1240s.¹⁹¹ By the early-fourteenth century, the northern French environment was more sensitive to the concept of the exercise of supra-regnal authority. It was almost certainly this factor that led Pierre Dubois to vest the position of universal arbiter in the pope rather than the emperor or any other temporal ruler.¹⁹² It is certainly true that writers such as Guillaume de Nangis highlighted the efforts of French kings to formulate peace between their neighbours. Yet there is little to indicate that, as Dr Chazan believed, these were attempts to portray French kings as successors to an exclusively imperial role. It seems probable, as I suggest in the previous chapter, that the French kings themselves regarded these negotiations as personal arrangements and there is little to suggest that commentators in France considered them to be more than an indication of Capetian-Valois prestige. In this context it is particularly striking that in Guillaume's universal chronicle, where Chazan believed the author's intention was to portray Louis IX as the emperor that Frederick II had failed to be,¹⁹³ the King's efforts to negotiate between fractious imperial princes in the 1260s did not in fact find a place.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 698.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 697–99.

¹⁸⁹ '[...] et non in pace [...]'], cited from ibid., p. 632, n. 237.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 639.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 669–70.

¹⁹² For a discussion of the relationship between Dubois's basic assumptions about the proper ordering of the world and his pragmatism: Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', pp. 85–87.

¹⁹³ Chazan, 'Guillaume de Nangis et la translation de l'Empire', pp. 476–77; Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 688–89.

¹⁹⁴ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, 1, 211–37. Though highlighted by Chazan, even Louis's peacemaking in Hainaut in the 1250s is actually absent from the first recension of Guillaume's universal chronicle, excluded almost certainly by conscious decision.

In 1202, in the bull *Venerabilem*, Innocent III had outlined his own view of the function of the imperial office: the emperor existed to defend the Church. It was the failure of the Greek emperor to fulfil this task adequately that had led Innocent's predecessor to transfer the Empire to Charlemagne.¹⁹⁵ Innocent's theory, incorporated into canon law, was not overlooked in France. In 1308, in his explanation of how Philippe IV might acquire the imperial throne, Pierre Dubois underlined that the emperor had a role to play in the defence of the Church.¹⁹⁶ It must be noted that Dubois's virtually verbatim repetition of the argument outlined in *Venerabilem* was, almost certainly, primarily intended to convince Innocent's successor, Clement V, to participate in Dubois's scheme by presenting the Pope with an argument based wholly upon the papacy's own pronouncements.¹⁹⁷ Yet there is further evidence to suggest that the defence of the Church was, at least in part, considered to be the emperor's function: in the justification they offered for John XXII's right to examine the suitability of Ludwig of Bavaria, both the 1340s Dionysian *Grandes Chroniques*¹⁹⁸ and the continuation of Pierre Honoré's version¹⁹⁹ suggested that it was necessary to determine whether an imperial candidate possessed the intention to *garder et deffendre de tout son pooir les drois de l'Eglise*.

Numerous French kings were highlighted in the thirteenth and early-fourteenth century as defenders of popes confronted by malevolent emperors. Charlemagne, for example, was said, in a sermon preached in the early-fourteenth century, to have fought against an emperor and restored the pope's sight and person to Rome, while the same text noted that Charlemagne had defended the Church against an emperor.²⁰⁰ The most striking case was

¹⁹⁵ X 1.6.34. Concerning Innocent's conception of *translatio imperii*: Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende*, pp. 272–77.

¹⁹⁶ *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, p. 209.

¹⁹⁷ Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', p. 79.

¹⁹⁸ *Grandes Chroniques*, IX, 38.

¹⁹⁹ *Grandes Chroniques* (BnF, MS fr. 10132 version), in *RHGF*, XXI, 684.

²⁰⁰ 'Sic etiam ille nobilissimus rex qui cum media barba rasa cum imperatore confligit et Summum Pontificem ab Urbe ejectum et exoculatum in sua sede restituit et oculos reddidit. Sic Carolus Magnus, cum ex rege Francorum vocatus ad senatoriam dignitatem ecclesiam defensavit contra imperatorem [. . .]', *Sermo cum rex Franciae est processurus ad bellum*, p. 169. Although Charlemagne is mentioned in an earlier unconnected passage in this sermon, it is interesting to note that the author assumed his — presumably knightly — audience would know their history well enough for him to be able to recount incidents without actually naming the kings involved, as he does in the first instance given here.

probably that of Louis IX, at least in the version of his relationship with Frederick II depicted by Guillaume de Nangis. This should not necessarily be interpreted as an indication that these kings, by defending either the papacy or the Church more generally, were considered by contemporaries to be fulfilling an exclusively 'imperial' vocation.²⁰¹ Rather, this particular emphasis should more probably be seen in the context of the developing belief, given particular impetus under Philippe IV, that the French king and the French kingdom occupied a uniquely elevated position in Christian society. This position was symbolized by a series of attributes considered in France to exemplify the uniqueness of French kingship: anointment with chrism sent directly from Heaven, the ability to cure scrofula, and descent, after the canonization of Louis IX, from a line of saints.²⁰²

A conception of the French king as defender of the Church almost certainly played a part in the nascent concept that he was uniquely deserving of the epithet *rex christianissimus*. At the same time, as this particular title did not become exclusively associated with any ruler or office before the late-fourteenth century,²⁰³ it seems unlikely that its application to Louis IX by Guillaume de Nangis and Vincent de Beauvais was intended to imply that Louis was fulfilling an exclusively 'imperial' role.²⁰⁴ Yet it seems probable that the inhabitants of the French milieu continued to connect the role of the western emperor with the defence of the Church before 1350. This probably differed from the general

²⁰¹ Compare with Mireille Chazan's view that Vincent de Beauvais, Guillaume de Nangis, and Jean de Saint-Victor highlighted such behaviour in order to suggest that the French king had become the *de facto* emperor: Chazan, 'Guillaume de Nangis et la translation de l'Empire', pp. 465, 479; Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 685–86, 688, 699–701.

²⁰² J. R. Strayer, 'France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King', in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by T. K. Rabb and J. E. Seigel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 3–16 (repr. in *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History: Essays by Joseph R. Strayer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 300–14).

²⁰³ J. Krynen, 'Rex Christianissimus: A Medieval Theme at the Roots of French Absolutism', *History and Anthropology*, 4 (1989), 79–96 (p. 81); Krynen, *L'Empire*, pp. 345–46.

²⁰⁴ Compare with Chazan, 'Guillaume de Nangis et la translation de l'Empire', pp. 466–68; Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 685. Similarly, it may be argued that Guillaume's use of Geoffroi de Beaulieu's 'sun-king' imagery was not intended to convey any uniquely imperial associations: Jones, 'The Role of Frederick II', p. 287.

protection ascribed to the French king in that the emperor's vocation was associated with one clearly defined aspect of this defence.

The Imperial Crusader

Following the fall of Acre, the last Christian outpost in the east, Pope Nicholas IV summoned ecclesiastical councils to meet across western Europe. These were requested to offer advice on the steps that might be taken within *l'empire de crestienté* (in the words of the Dionysians) in order to recover the Holy Land. There are several common threads in the advice offered to the pontiff. Many of the councils stipulated the need for the general pacification of Europe.²⁰⁵ Several, including at least one beyond the boundaries of the French kingdom (the council of Milan), stipulated that no future crusading expedition should take place unless led by the king of France or a Frenchman.²⁰⁶ A further unifying strand, and one articulated by at least two of the councils that met in northern France, as well as that held at Lyon, was a call for the election of an emperor prior to any new crusade.²⁰⁷

In the same year as the clerics gathered to discuss the fate of Acre, Adolf of Nassau argued that his commitment to the Holy Land made him a particularly suitable imperial candidate.²⁰⁸ The association of the imperial office with the crusade was not a new development of the 1290s: twenty years earlier Bruno of Olmütz had intimated to Gregory X that Ottokar of Bohemia's imperial candidature rested in part upon his abilities as a crusader.²⁰⁹ Rudolf of Habsburg, Albrecht, and Henry VII all stressed that a duty of their office lay in liberating the Holy Land.²¹⁰ With the pontificate of Clement V the papacy itself also began to draw a direct connection between the imperial office and the

²⁰⁵ Schein, *Fideles crucis*, p. 135.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

²⁰⁷ The French councils were those of Reims and Sens: *ibid.*, p. 135, n. 55; J. H. Denton, 'Philip the Fair and the Ecclesiastical Assemblies of 1294-1295', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 81 (1991), 1-82 (p. 8).

²⁰⁸ MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 474, pp. 460-63 (27 April 1292, Andernach).

²⁰⁹ MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 621, pp. 594-95 (12 July 1274, Prague). B. Weiler, 'The *Negotium Terrae Sanctae* in the Political Discourse of Latin Christendom, 1215-1311', *The International History Review*, 25 (2003), 1-36 (p. 28).

²¹⁰ For each, respectively: Weiler, 'Negotium Terrae Sanctae', pp. 28-29, 29, 30.

crusade, rather than simply regarding a desire to participate in the crusade as an admirable personal quality in a prospective candidate.²¹¹

Shortly after the murder of Albrecht of Habsburg, Philippe IV despatched two letters to the King of Bohemia. Both were intended to prepare the ground for the imperial candidature of Philippe's brother, Charles de Valois. In the second, Philippe recommended that Henry of Bohemia (1307–10) and his fellow electors should elect Charles, who was: '[. . .] perutilem ac zelum habentem fervidum ad exaltationem fidei catholice et promotionem negotii Terre Sancte'.²¹² The first letter, which did not specifically mention Charles' candidature, drew the same link between the crusade and the imperial office.²¹³ A second point common to both letters was the emphasis they placed upon the idea that the election was to be made *ad utilitatem totius rei publice*.²¹⁴ The opening years of the fourteenth century therefore witnessed the French king declare that the election of a new imperial candidate was something which concerned the whole of the Christian commonwealth and indicate that the role of an imperial incumbent was primarily linked to the recovery of the Holy Land. That this attitude was neither novel nor simply one proclaimed in a public arena is suggested by the circumstances surrounding Philippe III's imperial candidature forty years earlier.

In the summer of 1273 Pope Gregory X declared privately that if God willed it nothing would give him greater joy than to see Philippe III elected emperor.²¹⁵ At the same time Gregory remained evasive, and refused to provide Philippe's envoy with a clear response to the King's request for papal endorsement of his candidature.²¹⁶ Nevertheless, Philippe and Charles d'Anjou almost certainly came to believe in the months that followed that Gregory not only took the candidature seriously, but favoured it. This conviction led Philippe, in early 1274, without any objection being raised by his uncle, to hand over control of the Comtat-Venaissin to the Pope. The reasons why the Capetians should have made this apparently extraordinary assumption almost certainly lie in the nature of Franco-papal relations in the second half of 1273.

²¹¹ Weiler, '*Negotium Terrae Sanctae*', p. 29.

²¹² MGH Constitutiones 4, no. 240, p. 205 (9 June 1308, Poitiers).

²¹³ Ibid., no. 239, pp. 203–04 (20 May 1308, Poitiers).

²¹⁴ Ibid., no. 239, p. 204; no. 240, pp. 204–05.

²¹⁵ MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 618, para. 4, p. 587.

²¹⁶ MGH Constitutiones 3, para. 4, p. 587.

The most striking feature of these relations was the Pope's emphasis upon Philippe's role as the future leader of a crusade.

In late August 1273, shortly after receiving Philippe's embassy, the Pope had written to the French king to agree to Philippe's plan to send an exploratory force to the east in order to determine its present state.²¹⁷ Philippe was almost certainly responding to an earlier papal exhortation to come to the aid of the Holy Land until proper provision could be made in the general council.²¹⁸ In the course of the following months the Pope did more than simply ask that Philippe send military support; he asked him also to consider the planning of a future venture.²¹⁹ Implicit in this correspondence was the suggestion that the Pope considered Philippe to have a special responsibility in the task of recovering the Holy Land. It was the fact that this particular responsibility was associated with the imperial office, not simply with his position as King of France, that almost certainly convinced Philippe that his candidature had received Gregory's unofficial endorsement.

A connection between the needs of the crusade and the acquisition of the imperial throne was precisely the point that lay at the heart of the fifteen arguments Charles d'Anjou had submitted to his nephew in order to convince him to continue to pursue his candidature.²²⁰ Although Charles' own motivations for promoting Philippe's candidature lay largely in a desire to retain practical control of northern Italy,²²¹ without any doubt, both he and his advisers believed that the most likely argument to convince Philippe would be one based upon the practical benefits which a French acquisition of the Empire would bring to a future crusade. In this vein, the first eight reasons offered were not directly concerned with the Empire. Instead Philippe's obligation to do the service of God, and to obtain earthly honours not for their own sake but for this

²¹⁷ *Les registres de Grégoire X (1272–1276)*, ed. by J. Guiraud (Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1892), no. 336, p. 132 (28 August 1273, Santa Croce). Full text: Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, III, 336–37.

²¹⁸ *Registres de Grégoire X*, no. 811, p. 339 (August 1273, Santa Croce).

²¹⁹ *Registres de Grégoire X*, no. 813, p. 340 (10 December 1273, Lyon).

²²⁰ These arguments are preserved with Philippe's envoy's report of his meeting with Pope Gregory: Paris, Archives nationales, J. 318, no. 79. I am grateful to Dr Marigold Norbye who kindly provided me with a copy of this document. The arguments are edited in MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 618, para. 6, pp. 587–88. Concerning the neglect of these arguments by historians: Jones, 'Philippe III le Hardi [...] Imperial Candidature', pp. 223–24.

²²¹ Jones, 'Philippe III le Hardi [...] Imperial Candidature', p. 213.

higher purpose, was stressed.²²² This purpose, the service of God, was interpreted, through the use of Philippe's ancestors as examples,²²³ to be the recovery of the Holy Land. Philippe was, Charles suggested, more obliged to do this than his predecessors, partly because more is asked of the son of a good man than of a bad one and such a man is capable of more,²²⁴ and partly because of the many benefits he had been given.²²⁵ It was in order properly to fulfil these crusading obligations that Philippe should seek to become emperor. The connection drawn between the Empire and the crusade was not unique to the Capetian dynasty: it reflected a belief widely held in northern France.

A thread which ran through the works in which Pierre Dubois chose to address the question of the recovery of the Holy Land²²⁶ was the assumption that the bearer of the imperial title possessed a particular responsibility to contribute to the venture. This was not to say that other Christian rulers did not also bear this burden, but that the emperor had crusading obligations in excess of those incumbent upon his fellow rulers. This idea was implied in part one of *De recuperatione*, where Dubois noted that the emperor-elect should furnish an annual subsidy, in the form of a large number of troops for the benefit of the Holy Land for as long as is necessary.²²⁷ The idea that the emperor has such a specific function is made explicit in *Pro facto Terre Sancte*: whatever else might characterize the emperor, it was his role as a leader in the Holy Land that Dubois chose to highlight in the speech he intended Clement V browbeat the imperial electors with.²²⁸ Whatever involvement other princes may choose

²²² MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 618, para. 6, p. 587, arguments I, II.

²²³ Ibid., para. 6, p. 587, arg. III.

²²⁴ Ibid., para. 6, p. 588, arg. V.

²²⁵ Ibid., para. 6, p. 588, arg. VI.

²²⁶ Debate exists as to how important the recovery of the Latin east really was in Dubois's thought. Brandt, for example, believed that Dubois took the business of the crusade seriously: *Recovery of the Holy Land*, p. 37. Cf. the view that he regarded it as merely a pious pretext: E. Renan, 'Pierre Du Bois, légiste', *HLF*, 26 (1873), 471–536 (p. 479); *De recuperatione terre sancte*, p. xx; Rivièrè, p. 343; Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, pp. 403–04. Concerning the crusade in Dubois's thought: E. Zeck, *Der Publizist Pierre Dubois, seine Bedeutung im Rahmen der Politik Philipps IV. des Schönen und seine literarische Denk- und Arbeitsweise im Traktat De recuperatione Terre Sancte* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1911), pp. 81–86; Schein, *Fideles crucis*, pp. 208–12; SÁghy, 'Crusade and Nationalism', pp. 45–49.

²²⁷ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 13, p. 13.

²²⁸ *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, p. 209.

to have, Dubois simply assumed that the ruler of the Empire would be involved in crusading projects.²²⁹

Frederick Barbarossa was a model crusader whose actions Dubois considered worthy of being held up to Philippe IV for imitation on more than one occasion.²³⁰ Dubois was not alone in his positive assessment of Barbarossa. Despite a recognition of Frederick's often strained relationship with the papacy,²³¹ Guillaume de Nangis and Jean de Saint-Victor accorded him magnificent eulogies in which it was said of him: 'post Karolum Magnum parem gestorum magnificentia vix habuerit',²³² Aubri de Trois-Fontaines similarly compared him to Charlemagne²³³ and although he received less effusive praise in Primat's *Roman des rois* he was still termed *li granz Frederis*.²³⁴ According to the anonymous of Béthune, his death was: 'une des plus grans dolours qui en cel point peust estre avenue à la crestienté',²³⁵ It was almost certainly Barbarossa's reputation as a crusader, and in particular the fact that he had died while travelling to the Holy Land,²³⁶ that led to the continued repetition of such glowing eulogies. Even though Barbarossa did not always enjoy such a positive portrayal on the French page,²³⁷ the Emperor's depiction by Dubois creates a

²²⁹ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 14, p. 13; chap. 104, p. 89.

²³⁰ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 104, p. 88; *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, p. 209.

²³¹ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 56, 58, 60–61.

²³² Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 98. Both Jean and Guillaume were borrowing from the chronicle of Robert d'Auxerre: Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 667.

²³³ Chazan, *L'Empire*, p. 671.

²³⁴ *Grandes Chroniques*, VI, 201.

²³⁵ *Extrait d'une chronique française des rois de France, par un anonyme de Béthune*, p. 755.

²³⁶ For a summary of Barbarossa's career as a crusader: E. N. Johnson, 'The Crusades of Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI', in *A History of the Crusades, II: The Later Crusades 1189–1311*, ed. by K. M. Setton, R. L. Wolff, and H. W. Hazard, 2nd edn (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1969), pp. 87–122; E. Eickhoff, *Friedrich Barbarossa im Orient: Kreuzzug und Tod Friedrichs I.* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1977).

²³⁷ Geoffroi de Collon, for example, was clearly less enthusiastic. He included no mention of the Emperor's crusade and dwelt on his reign only long enough to note Frederick's disastrous attempt to besiege Pope Alexander III at Rome adding the comment, 'sed miraculose Dei gratia fere omnis exercitus maxima peste interit, et imperator cum confusione et tristitia ad sua est reuersus', *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 486.

strong impression that his crusading activities were intimately connected with his occupancy of the imperial office.

Dubois believed that Barbarossa had been the penultimate emperor.²³⁸ This was a peculiar view given that, since Frederick's death in 1190, three emperors had been elected, crowned by the pope, and generally, at least for a time, accepted. Two of Barbarossa's successors, Henry VI and Otto IV, had not participated actively in the crusade. Frederick II had undertaken what was undoubtedly the most successful thirteenth-century expedition, yet the fact that he had been an excommunicate throughout would almost certainly have led Dubois, who had a particular horror of excommunication and recommended against its use in all but the most extreme cases,²³⁹ to discount his activities. In fact, given the frequency with which the last Hohenstaufen crusade was omitted from contemporary accounts, Dubois may not even have been aware that Frederick had liberated Jerusalem. Rather than any of these three, Dubois seems to have considered Barbarossa's true successor to have been Louis IX, whom, he described as having willingly accepted the Empire in a pamphlet intended to encourage Philippe IV to seek the Empire for himself: '[. . .] quod dominus rex [Philippe IV] [. . .] de facili posset inspecto statu moderno acquirere pro se et heredibus suis Romanum imperium, quod sanctus Ludovicus sic libenter acceptasset'.²⁴⁰ What both Louis and Barbarossa had in common was that they had participated in, and ultimately died on, crusade.

Although Frederick II's crusade disappeared from the pages of the majority of accounts written in France after the mid-thirteenth century, the interest shown in it by writers in the 1240s, such as the annalist of Saint-Médard,²⁴¹ Aubri de Trois-Fontaines,²⁴² and Philippe Mousket,²⁴³ may indicate not simply an interest in the crusading movement, but provide further evidence of an association of the crusade with the imperial office. If such a direct connection was perceived to exist even at this early date²⁴⁴ it would also explain Philippe

²³⁸ *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, p. 209.

²³⁹ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 4, p. 8.

²⁴⁰ *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, pp. 208–09.

²⁴¹ *Ex Annalibus S. Medardi Suessionensibus*, pp. 521–22.

²⁴² *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 925.

²⁴³ *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 28059–69, p. 47.

²⁴⁴ Compare with Dr Weiler's view that a change in perceptions of the link between the emperor and the crusade occurs after 1274: '*Negotium Terrae Sanctae*', pp. 27–28.

Mousket's comments concerning criticism of Frederick's failure to come to the aid of the Christian army, led by Jean de Brienne, which had laid siege to Damietta:²⁴⁵

Quar a lui [Frederick] s'estoit atendüe
De sourcourre crestientés
Des le jour k'il fu couronnés.²⁴⁶

It may be the case, as Björn Weiler has suggested, that Frederick himself came to view his duty to liberate the Holy Land as a personal one, based upon his kingship of Jerusalem, rather than any attribute of his imperial office.²⁴⁷ Yet this would not suffice to explain Philippe's view of Frederick's particular responsibility to aid the crusaders at Damietta: the siege took place some years before Frederick's marriage to Isabella de Brienne, a fact of which Philippe, who followed the marriage negotiations in detail, was certainly aware.²⁴⁸ More plausible is the possibility that Philippe considered Frederick's responsibility to stem only from the oath to go on crusade that he had taken on the day of his coronation. Yet this does not seem to account entirely for the expectation that Frederick would rescue Jean de Brienne's expedition. Philippe clearly did not consider Frederick to have failed to carry out his personal vow by not participating in the fifth crusade: it was only after the loss of Damietta that the Pope set a two year deadline for the Emperor's departure to the East,²⁴⁹ and it seemed to Philippe that there existed acceptable reasons — connected with the destruction of the Saracen population of Sicily — why even this should be extended.²⁵⁰

The perception that there existed a link between the crusade and the imperial office may also have contributed, in conjunction with a degree of political expediency, to the enthusiastic endorsement Richard of Cornwall's kingship received in France. Richard had firmly established his credentials as a

²⁴⁵ For the 1217-21 crusade: T. C. van Cleve, 'The Fifth Crusade', in *A History of the Crusades, II: The Later Crusades 1189-1311*, ed. by K. M. Setton, R. L. Wolff, and H. W. Hazard, 2nd edn (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 377-428.

²⁴⁶ *Historia Regum Francorum*, lines 23360-62, p. 767; for the whole of Philippe's account of Frederick's involvement: *Historia Regum Francorum*, lines 23355-70, p. 767.

²⁴⁷ Weiler, 'Negotium Terrae Sanctae', p. 27.

²⁴⁸ *Historia Regum Francorum*, lines 23457-88, p. 767, 26835-44, p. 791.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, lines 23369-70, p. 767.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, lines 25325-50, p. 777.

crusader in the Holy Land and was held in particularly high regard in France because he had come to the rescue of the beleaguered French expedition that had set out shortly before his own.²⁵¹ Unlike Frederick II, Richard was frequently found on the French page in the context of the crusade.²⁵² A connection between the crusade and the imperial office was almost certainly established and cemented in the French cultural milieu by an understanding of the career of one particular crusader and occupant of the imperial throne.

Under the later Capetians there was an increased focus upon the fact that Charlemagne had been a king of France; yet, as was noted in chapter four, the time he had spent as emperor was by no means forgotten or considered unimportant. Pierre Dubois almost certainly reflected a common opinion when he noted that in the twelve short years that Charlemagne spent as emperor he achieved more than in all the prior years of his kingship.²⁵³ The key to understanding the significance of the imperial title lies precisely in what it was that Charlemagne was considered to have achieved in these years. Guillaume de Nangis and Jean de Saint-Victor had compared the greatness of Barbarossa's deeds to those of Charlemagne in their eulogies of Frederick. It was equally Charlemagne whom Dubois chose to uphold alongside Barbarossa as the historical figure whose actions were most worthy of imitation by future crusaders.²⁵⁴ It is not coincidental that the most striking of Charlemagne's achievements in the period after his imperial coronation was his leadership of not one but two successful crusades.

A sermon preached in the early years of the fourteenth century noted that Charlemagne had conquered the lands of the infidel. This comment was qualified with the note that while Charlemagne had defended the Church

²⁵¹ Denholm-Young, pp. 32–34; Painter, 'The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne', pp. 463–86.

²⁵² For example: *Fragment chronique rimée*, lines 30621–30, p. 74; *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, p. 948; *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, chap. xxxvi, pp. 555–56; *Chronique anonyme des Rois de France, finissant en M.CC.LXXXVI*, p. 82; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, I, 192; *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, pp. 331–33; *Grandes Chroniques*, x, 24; *Grandes Chroniques*, vii, 79.

²⁵³ 'plus proficiens, post adquisitam prudenciam militandi per experienciam diuturnam, in duodecim annis, quibus fuit romanus imperator, quam in quadraginta annis ante, prout ejus facta in partibus ultramontanis demonstrant', *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 141, p. 130.

²⁵⁴ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 104, p. 88; *Pro facto Terre Sancte*, ed. by Schwalm, no. 245, p. 209.

earlier in his reign, after receiving the senatorial dignity, his defeat of the infidel occurred only after he had become emperor.²⁵⁵ Like Dubois's comments, this echoed a perception of Charlemagne's reign defined by the belief that it was only after receiving the imperial crown that he had successfully led the crusades which had recovered the Holy Land and Spain. Such a conception of Charlemagne's reign was integral to two of the most influential and widely read versions of Carolingian history produced in northern France in the thirteenth century. Frequently copied, read by Jean Quidort amongst others,²⁵⁶ and the base text for compilers such as Adam de Clermont and Girard d'Auvergne, the first of these, written in Latin in the 1240s and 1250s, was Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*.²⁵⁷ The second, written in French in the 1270s, was Primat's *Roman des rois*, the primary source for both Dionysian and non-Dionysian traditions of the *Grandes Chroniques*.²⁵⁸ That the success of Charlemagne's crusades was considered to be associated strongly with his acquisition of the imperial diadem is further suggested by Guillaume de Nangis's attempt to revise the order of events adopted by Vincent and Primat.

Vincent and Primat had placed Charlemagne's crusades after his imperial coronation, following the *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus clavum et coronam Domini a Constantinopoli Aquisgrani detulerit*, for the crusade to the Holy Land, and the Pseudo-Turpin, for that to Spain. Guillaume, compiling his universal chronicle in the 1290s, employed the same sources, but, as Mireille Chazan has noted, altered the dating of events to suggest that both crusades occurred before the imperial coronation. He was followed in this by Jean de Saint-Victor, whose *Memoriale historiarum* drew heavily upon Guillaume's universal chronicle.²⁵⁹ Guillaume's approach was almost certainly dictated by a desire to establish Charlemagne's most successful crusading ventures within the context of French kingship, and thereby to promote the uniqueness, sanctity,

²⁵⁵ 'et postea, imperator effectus, terras infidelium acquisivit', *Sermo cum rex Franciae est processurus ad bellum*, p. 169.

²⁵⁶ Jean de Paris, ed. by Leclercq, p. 52.

²⁵⁷ Charlemagne's imperial coronation begins the twenty-fourth book: *Speculum historiale*, bk xxiv, chap. i, p. 962. For his expedition to the Holy Land: bk xxiv, chap. iv, pp. 963–64; to Spain: bk xxiv, chap. vi–xxi, pp. 964–70.

²⁵⁸ The second book opens with the imperial coronation: *Grandes Chroniques*, III, 90. For Charlemagne's recovery of Jerusalem: *ibid.*, pp. 172–73; for his Spanish expedition: *ibid.*, pp. 199–287.

²⁵⁹ Chazan, *L'Empire*, pp. 516, 532.

and superiority of that kingship. The particular problem that Guillaume perceived to exist in allowing these events to continue to be dated to the period after 800 can only have been the fact that Charlemagne was traditionally considered to have accomplished them as emperor rather than as king of France. This suggests that Guillaume was reacting against a common belief and deliberately attempting to dissociate the idea of the crusade from a contemporary association with imperial leadership.²⁶⁰

Although there is some indication that the link between the crusade and imperial leadership may have existed at an earlier date, the reason for the development of a particularly strong connection from the mid-thirteenth century is likely to have been a consequence of the series of disasters that had beset French expeditions throughout the thirteenth century. The triumphant conquest of Constantinople in 1204 was rapidly followed by failure at Damietta, the decimation of the baronial crusade in the 1240s, the defeat and capture of Louis IX in 1250, the collapse of the 1270 expedition in the wake of Louis's death, the catastrophic failure of the Aragonese crusade which cost Philippe III his life, and, finally, the general impotence of the West in the face of the loss of first Constantinople and later Acre. While these setbacks could be attributed to a variety of reasons, they stood in stark contrast to the success of Charlemagne's ventures. There is little reason to doubt that many contemporaries believed that the leadership of any future crusade lay with the French king; at the same time, in order to ensure that such a venture possessed the best possible chances of success, that king needed the additional benefits that came from acquisition of the imperial title.

The emperor was fundamental to the crusade:²⁶¹ he was the papal functionary whose task, in a properly ordered society, was to defend the

²⁶⁰ Guillaume was by no means the first chronicler to alter the order of events to better suit his purposes. In order to suggest that Philippe Auguste was born to Louis VII as a reward for the latter's support of the Church and in particular for his rescuing the monastery of Cluny, the author of the *Historia gloriosi regis Ludovici VII* was forced to alter the date of Louis's expedition to assist the monks (in reality 1166) to ensure it preceded Philippe's birth (1165): Baldwin, pp. 378–79.

²⁶¹ Compare with the view in A. Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 67–68. Leopold's earlier view, which placed greater emphasis upon the idea that leadership of the crusade continued to be considered an imperial duty, seems more balanced: A. Leopold, 'Crusading Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 1998), p. 92.

Christian empire by subjugating its external enemies. It was for this specific purpose that he was considered to possess a form of supra-regnal temporal authority. The nature of this authority was outlined most clearly by Charles d'Anjou in the advice which he addressed to Philippe III. The kingdom of France was but one kingdom. Philippe, Charles argued, ought to acquire the Empire, because by doing so he would gain an authority over all the knights of the world.²⁶² As emperor, Philippe would acquire the ability to lead and organize an army capable of doing what his father had so spectacularly failed to do. A perceived connection between the emperor and the leadership of the crusade may explain why Geoffroi de Collon was convinced that the Emperor Henry IV (d. 1106) had had some involvement in the First Crusade (albeit an involvement which included the participation of many Franks).²⁶³

The possibility of establishing a cadet branch of the Capetian dynasty in Germany undeniably appealed to Philippe IV. The marriage arranged between Philippe's sister and Rudolf of Habsburg at Quatrevaux had appeared to offer a key to achieving this. Almost certainly inspired by a desire to avoid a repetition of Adolf of Nassau's alliance with Edward I, Philippe pursued the Habsburg marriage with some tenacity in 1299. After the death of Blanche and her child brought a definitive end to the alliance with the Habsburgs, which had already begun to dissolve during the Bonifacian dispute, the election of either Charles de Valois or Philippe de Poitiers was almost certainly considered an alternative, more direct, means of asserting influence over the territorial Empire. Such attitudes appear reflected in the development of Pierre Dubois's ideas. In 1300 Dubois considered that the only means by which authority might be exercised over Germany was by influencing the dynasty founded through Blanche.²⁶⁴ Free

²⁶² 'Mais se il estoit anpereres, il porroit coeillir chevaliere de par tot le monde.', MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 618, para. 6, p. 588, argument IX.

²⁶³ 'Ille Henricus imperator ultra mare adiit in subsidium Terre Sancte, et Franci multi', *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 432. Apparently confusing the eastern and western emperors Geoffroi later described how the city of Nicaea was handed over to Henry: *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 440. For a more accurate account of the end of the siege, which witnessed the handing over of Nicaea to representatives of the Greek Emperor Alexius I: T. Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 118–31. The first of Geoffroi's peculiar statements, at least, would appear to be a garbled version of a comment by Martin of Troppau: *Martini oppaviensis chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*, p. 468. Geoffroi's Henry IV is mistakenly labelled 'Henry III' following Martin.

²⁶⁴ *Summaria brevis*, p. 19.

of the constraint imposed by the need to respect the rights of Blanche's child, Dubois's *De recuperatione* proposed negotiating the installation of Charles de Valois as the head of a new German dynasty.²⁶⁵ Yet it is probable that when seeking the imperial throne for his brother and his son, Philippe also had in mind another aspect of the counsel Charles d'Anjou had offered his father.

If the French king, or at least in Philippe IV's case his close relative, were not to become emperor, this would, according to Charles d'Anjou, actually endanger the success of a future expedition to the Holy Land. In such a case Charles had foreseen that, at best, there would be inevitable conflicts over the leadership of the crusade and, at worst, an emperor opposed to either the Church or to the French king might ruin the whole enterprise.²⁶⁶ There is little reason to doubt the sincerity and commitment of French kings, particularly Philippe IV, to the crusade.²⁶⁷ The ideological factor that inspired Capetian efforts to acquire the imperial throne involved the attachment of a symbolic and practical importance to the imperial office as a prerequisite for success in any future crusading venture.

The western Empire was, on one level, a territorial unit of limited jurisdiction whose ruler differed little from a king. The most substantial component of the composite territorial Empire was the German kingdom. By coronation in either Milan or Rome the German king might obtain territorial jurisdiction beyond the German kingdom. The emperor-king might also obtain a unique form of universal supra-regnal temporal authority. This latter was indisputably in the gift of the papacy and imbued with a Roman character. The emperor, as a functionary of the Roman church, was created in order to perform a task necessary to the existence of a properly ordered Christian society. His role did not involve the exercise of universal temporal jurisdiction but it did imbue the Roman emperor with a dignity which elevated him above other kings.

²⁶⁵ *De recuperatione terre sancte*, chap. 116, p. 104.

²⁶⁶ MGH Constitutiones 3, no. 618, para. 6, p. 588, argument XI.

²⁶⁷ Schein, *Fideles crucis*, pp. 266–68; N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). For the propaganda value associated with taking the crusade seriously: S. Schein, 'Philip IV and the Crusade: A Reconsideration', in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. by P. W. Edbury (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), pp. 121–26 (p. 122).

The function performed by the western emperor was commonly, but not exclusively, associated with the leadership of the crusade. An alternative function was suggested in Jean Quidort's *De potestate regia et papali*. The cognisance of temporal crimes, Jean informed his readers, belonged to the secular prince.²⁶⁸ If the pope were to commit a temporal crime it would be quite correct for a temporal ruler to chastise him for it, yet Jean also noted that the primary right (*primum ius*) to do this would lie with the emperor.²⁶⁹ Jean was occasionally in the habit of employing the term 'emperor' to mean any secular ruler. Yet his comment that this primary right was the possession of the emperor *if there were one*,²⁷⁰ the example he gave of the Emperor Henry III's deposition of three popes in 1046, and his remark that the Emperor performed this task *non solum canonica sed imperiali censura*,²⁷¹ when taken together, leave little doubt that Jean intended to be quite specific in this case.

The emperor acted, for Jean Quidort, as the ultimate check upon papal abuses. This disciplinary role was possible because for Jean the emperor's authority did not derive solely from the pope. The transfer of the Empire to Charlemagne was not, in Jean's view, carried out by the Pope alone: he emphasized the important role played by the acclamation of the populace and, a feature which differentiated the emperor from a king, the participation of the army.²⁷² Jean was, in many ways, the ultimate exponent of a world order which retained little place for universal temporal authority. Yet even he continued to conceive of the western emperor as fulfilling a function distinct from that of other temporal rulers, and of the emperor exercising an authority throughout the whole world when other kings exercised it only within their kingdoms.²⁷³ It was the perception that the western emperor performed a unique and necessary role that led chroniclers to pay such attention to the deposition of Frederick II and the *Romzüge* of Henry VII and Ludwig of Bavaria.

²⁶⁸ *De potestate regia et papali*, chap. xiii, p. 214.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. xiii, pp. 214–15.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. xiii, p. 214; also chap. xviii, p. 230.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, chap. xiii, p. 215.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, chap. xv, p. 222.

²⁷³ '[. . .] rex est in hoc caput regni sui et imperator monarcha si fuerit est caput mundi,' *ibid.*, chap. xviii, p. 230.

THE ECLIPSE OF EMPIRE?

The intention of this book has been to explore an aspect of how the world was perceived by the inhabitants of northern France and what can be considered the northern French cultural milieu. Its central concern has been to determine the place occupied by the western Empire and its rulers in French thought at a time which witnessed a decline in the material authority exercised by imperial rulers and a concomitant increase in that exercised by French kings. It has sought to determine attitudes towards individual rulers and would-be rulers of the Empire as well as exploring the more fundamental conceptions which shaped views of the Empire as an institution. One of its aims has been to test the validity of an oft-repeated assumption, one which has underpinned the work of historians such as Joseph Strayer, that this was an era which witnessed the definitive abandonment of a political ideology associated with universalism in favour of one connected with a new concept of independent nation-states. Was it the case that the escalating power and prestige of the expanding, centralized western kingdoms gave rise to a view that rendered anachronistic and irrelevant a rather different conception of the world, one associated with an institution whose increasingly weak and ineffective rulers sat perched precariously upon a powder keg of fractious and self-interested princes?

In assessing French views of the Empire there has been a conscious attempt to depart from according undue prominence to the sources traditionally associated with the development of a new political ideology, such as the work of the theologian Jean Quidort. It is only possible to understand the significance of the ideas developed in such texts if they are first situated within their proper context. It has been particularly necessary to remain aware of the potential pitfalls of seeing novelty where none existed or attributing unwarranted significance to novelty where it did exist. In part this has been accomplished by

avoiding consideration of the first decade of the fourteenth century, or even the whole of Philippe IV's reign, in isolation. More fundamentally it has been achieved by establishing a broader perspective based upon a wider source base. Such a source base is more representative of the different facets of opinion that existed and evolved in northern France and provides a much clearer indication of the place the Empire occupied in contemporary thought.

The portrait of the Empire that emerges is remarkably different from that which has previously dominated historical research. An emphasis was certainly placed upon the idea that the French king did not recognize any temporal superior in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. This emphasis was almost certainly stimulated by the dispute between Pope Boniface VIII and Philippe IV. It is unlikely, for example, to be coincidental that an anonymous Dionysian writer chose to integrate Pope Innocent III's comment that the French king recognized no temporal superior (taken from the decretal *Per venerabilem*) into an account of a life of Louis IX written after 1297, adapting and strengthening the Pope's remarks.¹ At the same time it is equally clear that alongside this emphasis an importance continued to be attached to forms of supra-regnal temporal authority. Yet this importance has been largely brushed aside by historians overly attached to a belief that this period witnessed the birth of the nation-state.

The most striking form of supra-regnal temporal authority to find a place in French thought was that attributed to the western emperor, yet the exercise of such authority was not the emperor's exclusive prerogative. Pierre Dubois, considered by some the herald of the modern state,² believed, like Charles d'Anjou, that the emperor was the natural leader of any crusading expedition. Simultaneously Dubois also conceived of a properly ordered world as one in which the pope exercised supreme authority over secular law and acted as the

¹ '[...] Rex Franciae, qui absque Deo superiorem in temporalibus minime recognoscit', *Gesta sancti Ludovici noni, francorum regis, auctore monacho Sancti Dionysii, anonymo*, p. 52. Cf. X 4. 17. 13, where no reference is made to God.

² F. M. Powicke, 'Pierre Dubois: A Mediaeval Radical', in *Historical Essays First Published in 1902 in Commemoration of the Jubilee of the Owens College, Manchester*, ed. by T. F. Tout and J. Tait (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1907), pp. 169–91 (p. 178); E. E. Power, 'Pierre Du Bois and the Domination of France', in *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Medieval Thinkers: A Series of Lectures Delivered at King's College University of London*, ed. by F. J. C. Hearnshaw (London: Harrap, 1923), pp. 139–64 (pp. 140, 152). Cf. O. G. Oexle, 'Utopisches Denken im Mittelalter: Pierre Dubois', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 224 (1977), 293–339.

supreme arbiter of temporal disputes amongst otherwise autonomous rulers.³ A continued adherence to the principle that there existed forms of supra-regnal temporal authority and a belief that the unity of Christian society was more than simply of a spiritual nature, casts serious doubts upon the view that this period witnessed the birth of the concept of the independent 'nation-state'.

An emphasis upon the autonomy of the French kingdom did not negate subscription to principles of universalism. Nor did it mean that imperial rights were simply something that could be ignored. Jeffrey Denton has noted recently that while historians have been apt to portray the Bonifacian dispute as a struggle between an emerging nation-state and traditional papal rights, it is more probable that contemporaries regarded it as novel papal claims infringing upon traditional royal rights.⁴ It was, similarly, a belief that traditional royal rights were being ignored and infringed that justified the assertion of Capetian-Valois suzerainty over allods and fiefs on the fringes of the French kingdom. Neither French kings nor the inhabitants of northern France subscribed to a new political ideology which encouraged the establishment of an effective border for the French kingdom by a process of systematically annexing formerly imperial territory. The Capetian-Valois kings were certainly intent upon expanding their influence but, equally certainly, they wished to avoid any appearance of innovating in the Empire and they may genuinely have believed that they were doing no more than re-claiming rights that had been lost by earlier French rulers. The policies pursued by kings such as Philippe le Bel seem characterized by the aim of recovering and consolidating pre-existent royal rights. Philippe IV, it can be suggested, regarded the Empire in much the same way as Louis VIII had done or Philippe VI would do: it was a limited territorial entity composed of several kingdoms possessing fixed boundaries within which the emperor exercised a legitimate jurisdiction that could not be ignored.

As the limited territorial Empire reflected the French kingdom so too, on one level, did the imperial ruler reflect the French king. There was a clear recognition in France that an electoral college had been instituted to select a candidate who the pope must approve if he were to become emperor. Yet succession to the rule of the territorial Empire was also considered to be regulated by the same dynastic model that was applied in France to the nobility and to French kings themselves. Each new imperial candidate was the potential founder of an hereditary dynasty and his selection was by a mechanism similar

³ Jones, 'The Perspective of Pierre Dubois', pp. 82–84.

⁴ Denton, 'Heresy and Sanctity', p. 147.

to that which would be applied in the French kingdom in a case where the ruling house became extinct. Associated with this dynastic model was a strong aversion to the principle of permanent disinheritance, itself almost certainly fuelled by the sensitivity of Capetian-Valois kings to the question of their own right to the French crown. It was not, as historians such as Professor Strayer believed, the development of a new ideology based upon Aristotelian and Roman legal principles that dictated attitudes in northern France towards the Empire and its ruler. Instead it was an understanding of the proper structure of the world based, in part, on a continued belief in the need for a form of supra-regnal temporal authority and in part on the superimposition of French norms upon an imperial context.

While the material authority of the Capetian-Valois kings increased exponentially, it is striking that attitudes towards the nature of the Empire and its ruler changed very little: the former continued to be conceived as a limited territorial unit, the latter as an office associated both with rule of the territorial Empire and with the exercise of a form of supra-regnal temporal authority. Where change does appear to have taken place is in a strengthening of the connection between the imperial office and the papacy. This may have been stimulated by the role played by Innocent IV in removing the last effective emperor, Frederick II; it certainly reflected the claims of contemporary pontiffs to possess the ultimate right to decide upon the suitability of imperial candidates. In addition there was an increasing association of the imperial office with the crusading movement. This specialized interpretation of the emperor's role as a defender of the Church was probably stimulated by the fact that the prolonged imperial vacancy coincided with a series of French crusading disasters and a number of dramatic losses in Outremer.

The importance attached to the imperial office was not the only factor to bring the Empire and its rulers to the forefront of French thought in the years after 1250. The longevity enjoyed by Frederick II, for example, was connected with a series of other interests, such as highlighting ecclesiastical abuses. While interest in the last Hohenstaufen emperor began to fade after 1300 he continued to feature as a persecutor of the papacy in widely diffused works such as Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*. Vincent and many of his fellow Dominicans may even have considered Frederick to be connected with Joachite eschatological expectations. Frederick was also cast as the antithesis of Saint Louis by Guillaume de Nangis, although Guillaume's carefully constructed portrait swiftly became diluted by both his fellow Dionysians and those who made use of their work.

Frederick's successors were less conspicuous but by no means absent from French thought. Although Franco-imperial interaction was rarely remarked upon, attitudes towards would-be rulers of the Empire were frequently determined by factors connected with the interests of the Capetian-Valois kings. In choosing between Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso X, for example, the inhabitants of France expressed a preference for Richard not simply because he was an accredited crusader but because Alfonso's disinheritance of the La Cerda children made the Castilian king a particularly detestable figure. Similarly, John of Bohemia's friendship with Philippe VI confirmed a tendency to favour John's father, the papally accredited Emperor Henry VII. In combination with a somewhat sceptical assessment of Pope John XXII's orthodoxy, this factor also led to a tendency to extend a degree of toleration to John of Bohemia's erstwhile ally, Ludwig of Bavaria. Yet one of the most important factors to bring the Empire to French attention was not connected with either contemporary rulers of the Empire or the important role attributed to the imperial office.

A ubiquitous figure linked to the Empire in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century France was Charlemagne. The Carolingian emperor and his descendants offered ecclesiastical institutions the opportunity to authenticate their relics and the Capetian-Valois dynasty the opportunity to authenticate themselves. That the Carolingians had possessed the imperial diadem was clearly important, yet the nature of this importance has been widely misinterpreted. In particular, in connection with a failure to appreciate fully the contemporary French understanding of the nature of the imperial office, it has led historians to misconstrue the ideology that lay behind the attempts by French kings to obtain the imperial throne.

There is every reason to suppose that the German kingship and the imperial office existed as separate entities in French thought and there is little to indicate that Charlemagne, *roy de France et emperiere de Romme*, was ever considered to have been *rex Alemannorum et imperator Romanorum*. The Capetian-Valois kings were almost certainly not considered, and did not consider themselves, to have any prior claim on a 'German' inheritance. Their interest lay in proving that they were the inheritors to Charlemagne as kings of France. Although the possession of the imperial office could become associated with a particular family it could not be considered dynastic inheritance in the manner of the territorial Empire: it remained something that lay in the gift of the papacy. It was almost certainly an association between the possession of the imperial title and the successful prosecution of the crusade that provided the ideological spur

behind Capetian imperial candidatures, not, as Robert Folz believed, the idea of recovering a Carolingian inheritance.

It might be suggested that a further potential ideological spur behind French candidatures lay in the belief that the Last Emperor would be a descendant of the line of Pepin. A version of Sibylline prophecy by Adso de Montier-en-Der which suggested that the Last Emperor would be a king of the Franks had circulated since the tenth century,⁵ yet it is necessary to exercise caution before assuming such prophetic material automatically inspired French claims on the Empire. Any connection between the final ruler of the Roman Empire and the French is, for example, notably absent from the version of the Tiburtine Sibyl incorporated into Philippe Auguste's registers by Étienne de Gaillardon. While this text does refer to a French king 'K' — almost certainly intended to be Charlemagne — it suggests that the final ruler of the Roman Empire will be a Greek.⁶ There is little to suggest that the Capetian-Valois court, those close to it, such as the Dionysians, or, indeed, anyone else in northern France, sought to draw on Sibylline texts to promote the idea that the Capetians had a claim to any imperial inheritance. In fact, the idea that the Last Emperor would be of Carolingian descent does not itself appear to have become prevalent in France until aired in the 1350s in the Joachite-inspired eschatological writings of the French Franciscan Jean de Roquetaillade.⁷

The most important reason why none of the French imperial candidatures appeared in accounts written in northern France is almost certainly because they failed to amount to anything. Another reason is that certain writers, such as Guillaume de Nangis and later Dionysians, would have considered them, with hindsight, to conflict with the impression that they wished to convey of relations between the Capetian-Valois dynasty and contemporary imperial rulers, or potential rulers, such as the Habsburgs or John of Bohemia. Yet there is perhaps a third reason. The failure of the French dynasty to obtain the imperial throne was more than simply a personal or a dynastic failure; it was a

⁵ Baldwin, p. 385.

⁶ The possible connections between this version of the Tiburtine Sibyl and Capetian political ambitions have been explored by several historians: Spiegel, *Past as Text*, pp. 128–31; Brown, 'La notion de la légitimité', pp. 89–93. As John Baldwin has noted, it is, ultimately, very difficult to account for the incorporation of this material into the royal register: p. 386.

⁷ On the development of this tradition in the second half of the fourteenth century: Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, pp. 323–30.

sign of failure on a more dramatic scale. By choosing to avoid alluding to these candidatures French writers chose not to include a reference to a sign that their kings lacked the divine favour that would have bestowed upon them the temporal leadership of Christendom.

The metrical chronicle attributed to Geffroy de Paris offers an illustration of the place occupied by the emperor in French thought which may be considered more representative than the impression obtained by a secluded reading of Jean Quidort. It is a portrait that stripped the emperor of universal government but which continued to consider his office imbued with a unique authority. The metrical chronicle was almost certainly, as Jean Dunbabin has argued convincingly, primarily written with the intention of highlighting a perceived inversion of the natural order of the world.⁸ From the chronicler's perspective this inversion of the natural order was a phenomenon exemplified by an inexcusable social mobility which broke down the proper order of society.⁹ The chronicle's extensive account of the Emperor Henry VII's reign has not proved of great interest to historians and Dr Dunbabin's article proves no exception. Yet it may be suggested that, on multiple levels, the chronicle's account of the Emperor's activities was intended to illustrate a further example of the inversion of the natural order.

Overshadowed from its very beginning by unpromising signs in the heavens,¹⁰ Henry's reign was depicted as an unremitting series of disasters. Even in what should have been a moment of triumph, Henry's Roman coronation, *la chose torna autrement*.¹¹ If, as seems likely, the original author was a member of Charles de Valois's household,¹² Henry himself probably represented the first sign that things were not as they should be. By highlighting Henry's brief reign and many misfortunes the chronicler probably intended to imply that by failing to favour Charles de Valois's own imperial candidature in 1308 the pope had made the wrong choice. Yet the chronicler's account of Henry's reign also illustrated, on another level, his general theme that the world was not as it

⁸ Dunbabin, 'Metrical Chronicle', pp. 238–41.

⁹ For example, as Dunbabin notes, the chronicle criticized the Flemish communes for defying the natural order by electing a weaver, Peter Koninck, as their leader: Dunbabin, 'Metrical Chronicle', p. 239.

¹⁰ *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, lines 3669–82, p. 161.

¹¹ *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, line 4410, p. 175.

¹² Dunbabin, 'Metrical Chronicle', pp. 241–44.

should be. Henry's relationship with the Sicilian king Robert d'Anjou was central to this.

Henry's reign was essentially an account of the relentless opposition offered by Robert and his allies, the northern Italian cities, to all the Emperor's plans. In reality it had been Robert's brother, Jean, who had perturbed Henry's entry into Rome and the subsequent coronation ceremony.¹³ Jean's involvement was known to the metrical chronicler's contemporary, the continuator of Guillaume de Nangis's chronicle.¹⁴ Disregarding this factual inconvenience, the metrical chronicle depicted a confrontation between Robert himself and the new emperor within the city of Rome. This conflict highlighted a further inversion of the natural order, the Emperor's weakness in his own city,¹⁵ but it was also the culmination of Robert's resistance to Henry, a resistance manifest from the moment at which the Count of Luxembourg's candidature had been confirmed by the pope.¹⁶

Robert was a king in his own right: he was not without superior but that superior was not Henry. In response to the Emperor's request that he do homage for the *regno*, Robert had argued that his possession of the Sicilian kingdom was legitimate because his ancestors *par armes ot la terre acquise* on behalf of the Church.¹⁷ The chronicler suggested that Robert considered the *regno* to have once been a part of the Empire but believed it had been separated from it when Frederick II rebelled against the Church.¹⁸ The Sicilian king did not consider, as the chronicler noted, that he held anything of Henry and he did not believe that his homage was owed to anyone but the pope.¹⁹ Although an argument based upon legitimization through conquest was unusual it was not unknown in France, where, for all the unease with the disinheritance of Conradin, the installation of the Angevin dynasty at Naples was endorsed enthusiastically. There is little in the metrical chronicle to suggest that Robert's

¹³ Bowsky, *Henry*, p. 156.

¹⁴ Second Continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine*, 1, 392–93. Also: *Chronicon Girardi de Fracheto*, p. 38.

¹⁵ 'Le roys estoit a Romme fort / Plus de genz que l'empereor', *Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, lines 4414–15, p. 175.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, lines 3729–44, p. 162.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, line 3914, p. 165.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, lines 3915–17, p. 165.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, lines 3905–34, pp. 165–66.

claim was in any way an illegitimate or unreasonable one. At the same time the chronicler gave an extremely sympathetic portrait of the Luxembourg emperor.

Henry was presented as a pious and heroic figure, described as a *riche et noble poingneeur*, who *par bonté et prouee* obtained the Empire.²⁰ Possibly murdered by his own confessor²¹ — perhaps the ultimate inversion of the natural order of the world — the Emperor may only have died because he refused to vomit up the poisoned but consecrated host.²² His *Romzug* was carried out with the constant support of the Church²³ and no mention was made of either the dispute with Philippe IV or with Clement V. Although Robert was portrayed as fearful of Henry's intentions from the moment of his selection the chronicler did not suggest that Henry regarded the Sicilian kingdom as something wrongfully usurped by the Angevins and his intentions were not portrayed, either before or after his imperial coronation, as being the annexation of the southern Italian *regno*. There was not even mention made of the sentence of deposition and condemnation passed against Robert.

The metrical chronicle's account of Henry's conflict with Robert implied that there was something intrinsically wrong with the belligerent Sicilian king's defiance of the pious and heroic Emperor. This favourable portrait of Henry was not a consequence of the Valois-Luxembourg rapprochement. In fact the original author began his account in the final years of Philippe IV's reign at a point when Capetian-Luxembourg relations had reached a nadir. Despite, as I suggest in chapter five, an apparent sympathy for Habsburg claims the 'editors' who incorporated this account into a compilation during Philippe V's reign do not appear to have felt it necessary to omit or alter the original author's presentation of Henry. The dispute between Robert and the Emperor illustrated that the world was not as it should be. Yet this was not because Robert was a vassal rebelling against his lord. Henry might have martyred himself for *le droit* of his Empire,²⁴ but this right was clearly not universal temporal overlordship. Yet Henry had received the *hautece*²⁵ of the Empire. From a northern French perspective this latter was a dignity which elevated him

²⁰ Ibid., lines 3686, p. 161; line 3691, p. 161.

²¹ Ibid., lines 5233–308, pp. 190–91.

²² Ibid., lines 5281–85, p. 191.

²³ 'Un cardonnal avecques lui / Tozjors avoit [...]', *ibid.*, lines 3799–800, p. 163.

²⁴ Ibid., lines 3697–98, p. 161.

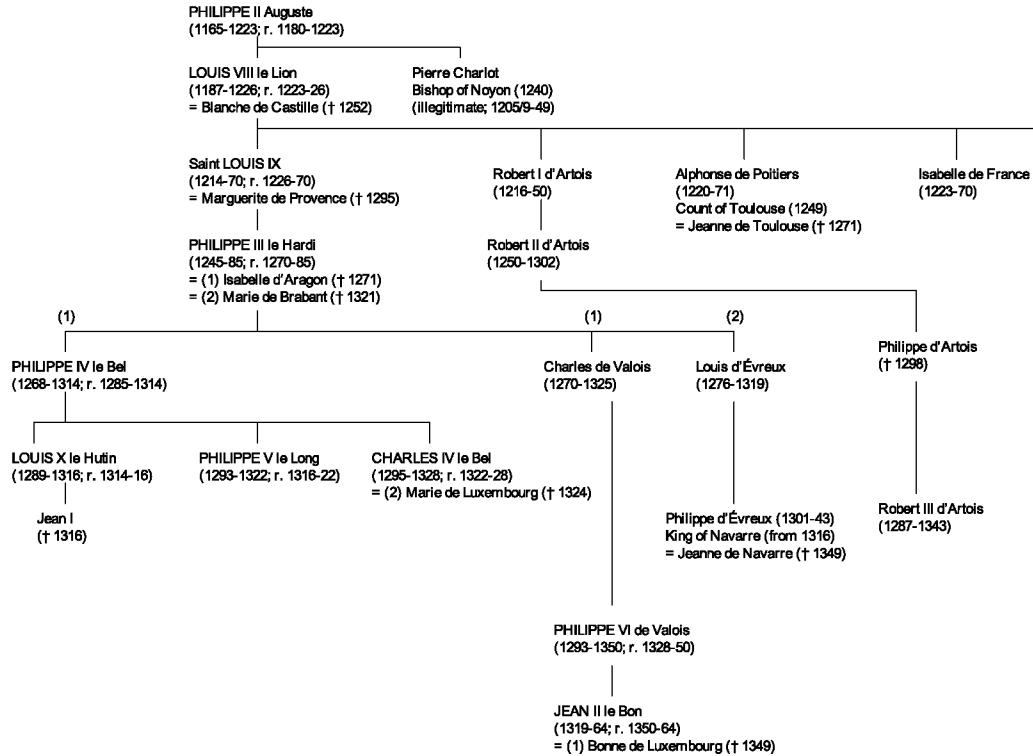
²⁵ Ibid., lines 3692, p. 161; line 3746, p. 162.

above other kings and enabled him to perform a necessary task. By resisting Henry, Robert defied the social order and frustrated the re-establishment of one of the cornerstones of a properly ordered Christian society. The attention devoted to the dispute between Henry and Robert reflected the importance the metrical chronicler and those who made use of his work attached to this particular inversion of the natural order.

The eclipse of Empire in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries is indeed a reality, but one largely restricted to the minds of modern historians. The inhabitants of France could conceive of a world in which the emperor no longer exercised universal temporal jurisdiction and the Roman Empire was no longer an institution associated with universal government. Indeed they had conceived of such a world long before Aristotle's *Politics* was read in the schools. Yet a form of universal temporal authority associated with the Roman emperor remained fundamental to the existence of a properly ordered Christian society. This was true even for Jean Quidort, who viewed the emperor as having a primary responsibility for the correction of papal abuses. As a consequence of the long vacancy that took place after the death of Frederick II it was certainly possible to imagine the world without an emperor, but such a world was, from a French perspective, hardly the best of all possible worlds.

Table 1: The Capetian-Valois Dynasty / The Angevin Dynasty of Naples

The Capetian-Valois Dynasty



*simplified

The Angevin Dynasty of Naples*

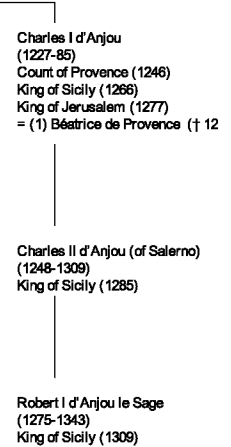
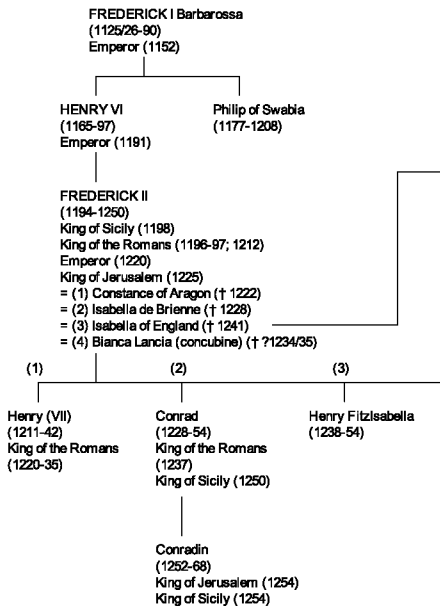


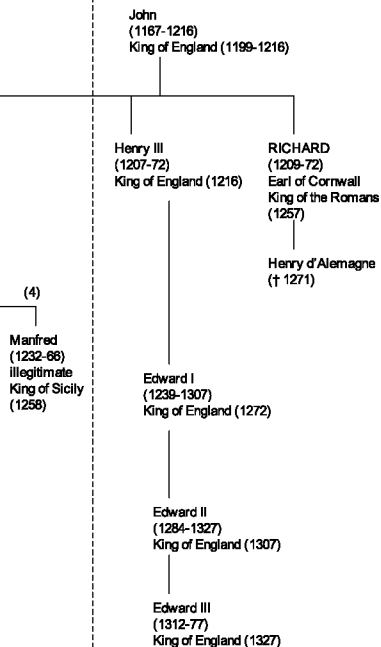
Table 2: The Hohenstaufen Dynasty / The Plantagenet Dynasty / The Habsburg Dynasty / The Luxembourg Dynasty

Hohenstaufen Dynasty*

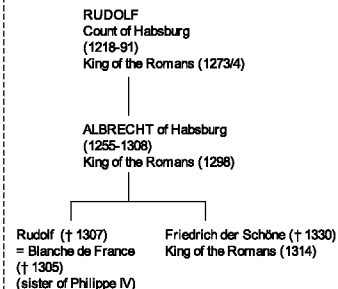


*simplified
Rulers of the Empire are highlighted

Plantagenet Dynasty*



Habsburg Dynasty*



Succession in the Empire

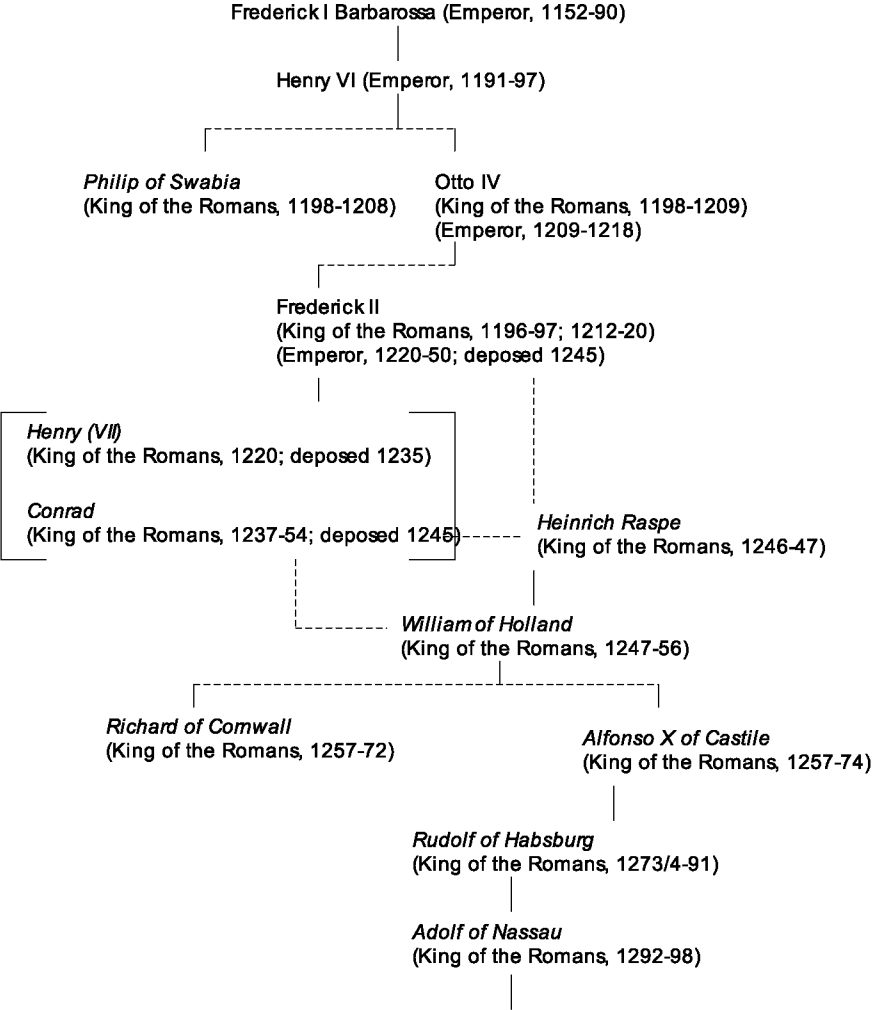


Table 3: Succession in the Empire

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